

**DOUGLAS PIKE (1908-1974):
SOUTH AUSTRALIAN AND AUSTRALIAN HISTORIAN**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
THESIS DECLARATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: DOUGLAS HENRY PIKE: FAMILY BACKGROUND.....	7
CHAPTER 2: MELBOURNE AND THE BUSH	22
CHAPTER 3: THE PATH TO HISTORY	39
CHAPTER 4: RETURN TO ADELAIDE.....	63
CHAPTER 5: ACROSS BASS STRAIT.....	103
CHAPTER 6: THE ADB AND HISTORIOGRAPHY	129
CHAPTER 7: DOUGLAS PIKE AND HISTORIOGRAPHY	166
CONCLUSION.....	178
APPENDICES	184
Family History Of Douglas Henry Pike	184
Appendix 3.1.....	185
Appendix 4.1.....	187
Appendix 4.2.....	206
Appendix 4.3.....	207
Correspondence & Interviews	211
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	214

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Professor Douglas Henry Pike (1908-1974)	vi
Figure 2: Chefoo School	13
Figure 3: Jolly Rogers “Gang” – Douglas Pike centre front (c.1918)	16
Figure 4: The Pike Family (c.1918).....	17
Figure 5: Allison, Douglas, Wal, and Faith Pike on school verandah (c.1920)	17
Figure 6: The Pike Family (1925: Hawthorn, Victoria)	21
Figure 7: Douglas Pike and his dog Merriwa-Cassilis (c.1930).....	24
Figure 8: Douglas Pike shearing at Merriwa (1938).....	24
Figure 9: Alf, Wal, and Douglas Pike (Melbourne c.1939).....	33
Figure 10: Olive Hagger (c.1940).....	36
Figure 11: Pastor Douglas Pike during his Glenelg pastorate (c.1945).....	39
Figure 12: The Pike Wedding (1941)	40
Figure 13: Dr. Douglas Pike (c.1957).....	102
Figure 14: Professor and Mrs. D. Pike (University of Tasmania, 1962)	128

ABSTRACT

THESIS TITLE

Douglas Pike (1908-1974) South Australian and Australian Historian.

Douglas Henry Pike was born in China in 1908, the second of five children, whose Australian parents were missionaries with a Protestant interdenominational faith mission, the *China Inland Mission*. Following graduation from an English style mission boarding school at Chefoo in northern China, Pike came to Melbourne in 1924; and from 1926 spent twelve years jackerooing on various New South Wales country properties. He returned to Melbourne in 1938, trained for the ministry in a Churches of Christ College, graduated in November 1941, married Olive Hagger and was sent to Adelaide. During pastorates at Colonel Light Gardens and Glenelg he studied at the University of Adelaide for his BA. He achieved History Honours, resigned from the ministry, taught briefly in Adelaide and at the University of Western Australia then returned to Adelaide as Reader from 1950 to 1960. Pike obtained his MA, then the D. Litt. for *Paradise of Dissent*, a history of South Australia. During the 1950s he wrote a series of newspaper articles, 'Early Adelaide with the lid off'.

In 1960 he was appointed to the Chair of History at the University of Tasmania and published his second book, *Australia: The Quiet Continent*. In 1964 he moved to the Australian National University and commenced his pioneering task as founding editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Therefore the most significant period of his working life in history and historiography covers the years from 1948 until his sudden illness in November 1973, and death in May 1974.

The Second World War at first slowed but then stimulated the teaching and writing of history in Australia. Pike commenced his university studies during the war; his research and writing followed in the post-war period. His years in academia witnessed the

establishment between 1946 and 1958 of four more universities in Australia, including the *ANU*, where he spent the last ten years of his life. However, apart from book reviews, obituaries in newspapers and journals, biographical paragraphs and the *ADB*, Pike's contribution and significance to Australian historiography has been largely neglected.

My thesis is based on personal interviews and correspondence with people who knew Douglas Pike, including family members, together with archival material from the Australian National Library and the universities where Pike worked. Printed sources include newspapers, journals, and Pike's own published writings.

THESIS DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available in all forms of media, now or hereafter known.

John D. Calvert

30 September 2008

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I am indebted to Professor Wilfrid Prest, my supervisor; who asked the necessary hard questions regarding my research, and gave direction and guidance in the formation of this thesis. My thanks to Robert Ewers, Registrar of Humanities and Social Sciences who steered me to Wilf Prest when I first inquired at the University of Adelaide.

Without the permission and willing participation of the Pike family this thesis would have lacked much 'inside' information. Therefore I am grateful to Douglas Pike's sons, Douglas and Andrew; his younger brothers Walter and Alfred (both now deceased); and his nieces, Elizabeth Ives, Marjorie Keeble and Kaysie Skansebakken.

To my friends Jan Whitford who transcribed interview tapes, Mark Kulikovsky for editorial expertise and Cheryl Turnbull with proof reading attention, my sincere appreciation. To the Barr Smith Library Research Librarians, Margaret Hosking and Peter Jacobs; Special Collections Librarian, Cheryl Hoskin; Helen Bruce in Records & Archives Services, my thanks for pointing me in the correct direction. For research assistance in Canberra I am indebted to Graeme Powell, former Manuscript librarian at the National Library of Australia; Pennie Pemberton at the Noel Butlin Archives Centre; plus Anthea Bundock and Edna Kauffman at the Australian Dictionary of Biography.

My appreciation to many others who were instrumental in advice, support and friendship include: former South Australian state archivist Gerald Fischer; historians Jack Cross, Michael Roe, Hugh Stretton, Ann Moyal and Gerald Walsh. To the many who agreed to be interviewed and who answered correspondence my gratitude. I am grateful to (Robert) John Lawrence for tutorial and essay papers studied in Douglas Pike's Adelaide classes, and to John Thompson for his thesis and book on Geoffrey Serle.

To the Department of History at the University of Adelaide, especially Caroline, Chris and Julie, plus my room mates: Carol Matthews, Jude, Nadia and Matthew; thanks for support, encouragement and coffee.

As a part-time student much of my writing was done at home. My wife Jenny and my three sons; Peter, Dean and David, plus their families will now breathe a sigh of relief, as will I.

NOTE:

This figure is included on page vi of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 1: Professor Douglas Henry Pike (1908-1974)

INTRODUCTION

Whether men make history or history makes men is a question for argument, but there can be no debate that biography is a proper study. As a means or an end its quality may vary, but its data are in constant demand. Telephone directories, year books, Who's Who and almanacs increase in use and bulk, yet the information wanted by working historians is seldom adequate and not readily accessible. Lives of great men proliferate fruitlessly while less known worthies must be sought in rare pamphlets and obscure journals.¹

The name Douglas Pike came to my attention several years ago when I was checking articles in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, and Pike was listed as the general editor. Curious to discover more about him, I could only find obituaries containing reference to his years as a historian. By asking questions and following suggested directions, I found reference to Pike's decade as Reader in the History Department at the University of Adelaide during the 1950s. The more I discovered about Pike's life, the more amazed I became that no biography was available. This thesis is an attempt to fill that gap.

Noting that Douglas Pike was born in 1908 led me to question whether other well-known Australians shared the same birth year. Amongst the better known were: Victorian Premier Henry Bolte, 20 May to 1990; cricketer Don Bradman, 27 August to 2001; historian Lawrence Fitzhardinge, 6 July to 1993; Prime ministers Harold Holt, 5 August to 1967 and William McMahon, 23 February to 1988; linguist Theodore Strehlow, 6 June to 1978; plus bushman, grazier and businessman Reginald M. Williams, 24 May to 2003. These seven men were all born in Australia and, except for Harold Holt, all outlived Douglas Pike, who spent

¹ D. Pike, THE AUSTRALIAN DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY 'Business Archives and History', August, No. 2, Vol. VII (1962) 185 & 186, ADB 69.

fifty years in his ancestral country following his birth and school-days in China. This discovery led me to pursue two questions? Why were his parents in China, and how did he become an historian?

Through various church connections I discovered that Adelaide born Rowland Butler, whose parents were well-known business people, had married Allison Pike, the daughter of missionaries with the China Inland Mission. The name 'Pike' caused me to inquire if Allison and Douglas were related. I found they were brother and sister. I had met some of the Butler family and the connections began to come together. The next question was whether any of Douglas Pike's family was still alive, for I was informed that Rowland and Allison Butler were dead. Additional inquiry revealed that Douglas Pike's two brothers, his two sons and three nieces were alive and willing to assist my research. Through interstate visits plus correspondence, a picture began to emerge of Australia's 'forgotten historian'. The names of former students and associates were obtained but there were three periods for which data was scarce. The first was Pike's upbringing and school-years in China; the second covered the comparative silence of more than a decade in the outback; and the third focused on his period as a church minister.

Family letters provide some answers on Pike's background, upbringing and education in China through copies provided by Douglas Pike's brothers, Walter and Alf and his niece, Marjorie Keeble, a daughter of Rowland and Allison Butler. Secondary sources on the China Inland Mission and Pike's school at Chefoo, plus correspondence with a friend whose parents had also been missionaries in China and who himself had boarded at the same school as the Pikes, until capture by the Japanese during World War II, help fill out the picture.

The years of comparative silence in the bush are bereft of information except for some brief correspondence. Interviews with Pike's two aged brothers revealed that contact with

their older brother was virtually non-existent. Investigation into this period of some twelve years shows death, trauma, parental and sibling separation. Douglas' eldest sister Allison sought to address this polarisation through correspondence but for much of the time she was in China.

Data regarding Pike's years in theological college and the ministry is also minimal. Correspondence with Pike's fellow theological students provides mostly background information. Permission to access local church archives was not granted. Available material in these years will be examined to determine what threads in Pike's experiences ran from China, through the bush into the ministry and into academia.

The central section of this thesis covers Pike's years following his entry into academic life as a historian at the age of forty. In preparation I was reminded of Melbourne historian Walter Phillips' words: 'The historian is tied to evidence; he must interpret the evidence and interpret it imaginatively. But he has to have something to begin with – a fact – and not a theory which he looks for facts to justify'.² The fact is that Douglas Pike lived in every Australian state except Queensland. I was to discover archival evidence on his tenure in four universities and the role he exercised as founding editor of the Australian Dictionary of Biography. His years in university teaching were necessary preparation for his final responsibility; therefore, my task will be to write and interpret his life and contribution in South Australian and Australian historiography.

Holdings of Pike's papers at the National Library are listed below.³ Records held at the Noel Butlin Archives and the University of Adelaide's Barr Smith Library add to the

² W. Phillips, 'Historians, Biography and History', ed. by R. Broome, *Tracing Past Lives: the writing of historical biography* (Victoria, The History Institute, Victoria Inc, 1993) 6.

³ The papers of Professor Douglas Pike are held at the National Library (NLA MS 6869) and include 17 boxes and three folio boxes of papers concerning Pike's work as General Editor of the *ADB*; his publications *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia, 1829-1857*

available material. Limited data at the Universities of Western Australia and Tasmania fills in Pike's brief time at those institutions. Correspondence and interviews with more than 70 people who knew Pike present personal reflections. Family members willingly assisted by providing letters and photographs. I have read letters from Allison Butler (formerly Pike) to Olive Pike, widow of Douglas Henry Pike, 13 September 1979 & 15 January 1980, copies of which are in my possession: a letter to me from Marjorie Keeble (formerly Butler), daughter of Rowland and Allison Butler, 29 July 2002: also a three-page family history by M. Keeble, 1 August 2004. Copies of family letters, family photographs, personal correspondence and photographs from Pike's sons, Douglas Jr and Andrew Pike, plus interview transcripts listed in the thesis as (privately held), are to be deposited in the Special Collections area of the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide within three months of the submission of this thesis.

In chapter one I explore the background to Douglas Pike's life with reference to his parents and their missionary careers in China following the Boxer rebellion, and Pike's isolated early years at boarding school in northern China.

Chapter two introduces Pike's return to Australia in his later teenage years, his failure at the University of Melbourne, and life in the New South Wales outback as a rouseabout. This time covers the death of his youngest sister and the murder of his father, both occurring in China, and raises the question of isolation from his family. These years also cover the

(1957), and *Australia: the quiet continent*' (1962); includes his work as an academic, particularly for the Australian National University; and his involvement with the Australian Humanities Research Council. The collection also includes general files, correspondence, referees reports, articles, a thesis and other writings, plus notebooks, photographs, cuttings and printed materials. Referees' reports are contained in boxes 13 and 14 which are closed until 2014. <http://www.nla.gov.au/ms/findaids/6869.html> Carmel McInerny, NLA to J. Calvert, 17 September 2001 (privately held).

period of the Great Depression and conclude with his religious experience and return to Melbourne for theological training.

The third chapter commences with Pike's marriage, and moves to Adelaide where he ministered in two suburban churches and began part-time study at the University of Adelaide. His achievement in obtaining history honours coincided with his abandonment of the ministry and church involvement. I contend that church disagreements, arguments with his mother and academic influence from his mentors contributed to these decisions. His entry into teaching history at Adelaide followed by a brief tenure at the University of Western Australia will be considered as he launched into academic employment.

The fourth chapter seeks to research Pike's life as he returned to Adelaide in 1950 as Reader, completed his Masters degree followed by his Doctorate and published his thesis under the title: *Paradise of Dissent*. Intermittent changes in his writing focus will be evident in investigating the publication of a two-year series of short articles in Adelaide's evening paper *The News*. Entitled 'Lifting the Lid', these pieces aimed to uncover and lampoon some of the myths surrounding South Australia's early colonial settlers. During this decade Pike suffered a heart attack and this event, added to his work load and intention to obtain a history chair, will be explored. It is my contention that Pike's ambition for such a position was a stepping stone, via the chair of history at the University of Tasmania, to his final post as editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB)*.

In chapter five my investigations explore Pike's role in Tasmania as he began to juggle university responsibilities with visits to Canberra as editor of the *ADB*. Pike's move to Hobart for a comparatively brief period and to a university suffering from the effects of the 'Orr Affair' raises questions of motive, particularly when his family, with teenage sons, needed

stability. Responses to Pike's second book - *Australia: the quiet continent*, (1962) will also be examined.

The *ADB* and historiography are addressed in chapter six. Pike's journal publications will be reviewed throughout the various chapters, but in this section the first five volumes of the *ADB* will be considered. In addition, I examine the experiences of Pike and his wife during overseas study leave, including investigation into other dictionary developments. His expected retirement, embracing a further two years work on *ADB* projects, never eventuated due to illness and death.

The final chapter explores Pike's place in Australian history, raising questions about several areas of his life. His standing among his peers, his view of himself, and his thoroughness in editorial requirements will be examined. A view of his home life, the man himself outside academia, will be considered in order to compile as complete a picture as possible of Douglas Henry Pike. My comparative analysis in this chapter joins with similar descriptions throughout earlier thesis chapters in order to present an overall picture extending throughout his life, and leads on to a concluding chapter examining his place in the study and writing of Australian history.

In the Conclusion I assess Pike's standing as an Australian historian and compare his contribution to Australian history with Manning Clark, John La Nauze and Geoffrey Serle. These four men were associated with the *ADB* and the first three worked at the Australian National University (ANU). Pike's lecturing style did not have Clark's charisma and Serle contributed more biographical volumes, but Pike's editorial thoroughness set the style for the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

CHAPTER 1: DOUGLAS HENRY PIKE: FAMILY BACKGROUND

CHEFOO

*O Chefoo shore, so bare and wild,
Meet school for a poetic child;
Land of brown hills and blinding blasts,
Land of slow junks and swaying masts,
Land of my youth! What mortal hand
Can e'er untie the grateful band
That knits me to thy sunny strand?
As I review each well known scene,
Think what is now and what has been,
My soul would fain as once of yore
Stand on thy sunny shell-strewn shore.⁴*

'I can kill, skin and dress a lamb in a minute, forty seconds,' was the claim by University of Adelaide history Reader, Douglas Henry Pike.⁵ The occasion of this pithy comment was the launch of his pioneering book on South Australian history, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857* in 1957.⁶ What lay behind this unusual boast? In this chapter I will introduce Douglas Pike and his family, and argue that his upbringing, experiences and world-

⁴ D. Michell, *A Boy's War*, 'Anonymous' (Singapore, Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1988) 12.

⁵ H. Stretton to J. Calvert interview, 18 March 1999 (privately held).

⁶ D. Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857* (London, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1957 & Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1967).

view made a significant contribution to his breadth of understanding and ability as a writer and editor of Australian history.

South Australian and Australian historian Douglas Henry Pike was born at Tuhshan (Dushan), Kweichow (Guizhou), south-west China on 3 November 1908.⁷ His parents, Douglas Fowler Pike and Louisa Pike (formerly Boulter) were missionaries with an interdenominational faith missionary society the China Inland Mission (CIM), formed in 1865 by Englishman James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905).⁸

In order to appreciate the varied life of Douglas Henry Pike and place him in the context of post-war Australian history, it is necessary to investigate his family background, and endeavour to understand the influences that moulded him. The only known account of the Pike family is contained in family letters.⁹ The historian Douglas Henry Pike's father, Douglas Fowler Pike (from now on referred to as Pike Snr), was born in the northern Tasmanian city of Launceston on 30 April 1877, the second youngest of eight children of English-born Methodist, William Fowler Pike (1826-1915), and his Scottish Presbyterian wife Alice Brown (died 1911) from Aberdeen Scotland, who had travelled to Launceston as a nanny for a family named Lindsay. There is no record of their meeting but William, a grocer, and Alice were married in Tasmania in 1866.¹⁰

⁷ Precise identification with Pike family members will sometimes require full first names: Correspondence: Allison Butler to Olive Pike, 13 September 1979 (copies in my possession): B. Nairn, 'Pike, Douglas Henry', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.16: 1940-1980, Pik-Z, eds. J. Ritchie & D. Langmore (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2002) 1.

⁸ H. Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God* (London, CIM, 1934); M. L. Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1964* (Sydney, China Inland Mission/Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1965) 3-7; P. E. Brotchie, 'The Importance of the contribution of Australia to the penetration of China by the China Inland Mission in the period 1888 to 1953, with particular reference to the work of Australian women missionaries'. (Ph. D. Thesis, Deakin University, Volume 2, [no pagination], 1999), nos. 294, 359, 421, 789 & 823.

⁹ Information from letters between family members: Allison Butler (formerly Pike) to Olive Pike, widow of Douglas Henry Pike, 13 September 1979, November 1979 & 15 January 1980, copies of which are in my possession: letter to me from Marjorie Keeble (formerly Butler), daughter of Rowland and Allison Butler, 29 July 2002 & 8 August 2002: also three page family history by M. Keeble to J. Calvert, 1 August 2004 (all privately held).

¹⁰ Ibid.

Following a Methodist conversion experience Pike snr, aged twenty, left his father's Launceston grocery, travelled to Adelaide, South Australia and attended Angas College, the only interdenominational faith missionary Bible training school in Australasia at that time.¹¹ The 'faith mission movement' emanated from nineteenth-century evangelical Protestant revival movements which believed that God would provide mission finance and missionary salaries and therefore refrained from soliciting funds.¹²

Among Pike Snr's fellow students was a seventeen-year-old Victorian woman from Ballarat, Louisa Boulter, who met Pike Snr when she commenced study in 1897.¹³ She was a daughter of John and Mary Boulter (formerly Nicholls). They had both been born in England during 1859 and later migrated to Victoria. Louisa was born in 1880 but became an orphan aged ten, and lived in one place after another doing odd jobs for her keep. Following a spiritual conversion at a Ballarat Church she travelled to Angas College to prepare for missionary work in China. What she lacked in school education she learned through the hard knocks of life without parents or a stable home. This was part of the training program for her future for she never lived in a house which she or her future husband owned, and she was for most of her life to be without the comforts of western culture.¹⁴

Pike Snr completed his two-year training but deferred plans to leave for China in 1900 due to the eruption of the Boxer Rebellion, in which over 30,000 Christians were killed,

¹¹ Ibid: the Bible college movement commenced in Britain during the 19th century as a result of Protestant evangelical ecumenism, see J. Calvert, 'A History of the Adelaide Bible Institute (ABI) 1924-1962 with Special Reference to the Development of its Theological Education' (MA Thesis, University of South Australia, 2000) 19-26; M. L. Loane, (1965) 11-24; D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Michigan, Baker, 1989) 122-139; K. Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford, Regnum Lynx, 1994) 9-13.

¹² G. R. Corwin, 'Faith Missions Movement', *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, eds. D. Reid, R. D. Linder, B. L. Shelley, H. S. Stout (Illinois, Inter Varsity Press, 1990) 426; K. Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford, Regnum Lynx, 1994) 9-13; M. L. Loane, (1965) 11-24.

¹³ M. Keeble, 'Pike, Douglas Fowler', in *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, ed. B. K. Dickey (Sydney, Evangelical History Association, 1994) 309.

¹⁴ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held).

including '135 missionaries and 35 children'.¹⁵ CIM deaths totalled 58 missionaries and 21 children, including Australians.¹⁶ All prospective mission workers were advised to find alternative work until the violence subsided, so Pike Snr returned to northern Tasmania and preached in Methodist mission churches until he sailed for China in December 1901.¹⁷

Following six months basic language school new male missionaries had their heads shaved, with pigtails and Chinese dress added to their appearance so as to blend in culturally according to Mission requirements, and were 'designated' to their ministry areas.¹⁸ Pike Snr was sent to the south-western area of Kweichow (Guizhou) province, to work in church planting and Bible teaching.¹⁹

During this time Louisa Boulter completed her two years preparation at Angas College but was too young to be accepted for missionary service and commenced three years nursing training at the Adelaide Children's Hospital, followed by midwifery plus a course in dispensing.²⁰ She arrived in China during November 1903 and after language study she and Pike Snr were engaged.²¹

Mission policy prohibited marriage until two years service on the field plus success in language examinations. They were married in Chinese dress on 13 February 1906, her birthday, at the British Consulate in the majestic walled-city of Chungking, north of Kweichow, where the ceremony was squeezed in between two midwifery calls.²² The Pikes

¹⁵ H. Taylor (1934) 585: H. J. B. Allen, *Roland Allen, Pioneer, Priest, and Prophet* (Ohio, Forward Movement Publications, 1995) 35; A. J. Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1986) 64 & 75.

¹³ H. Taylor (1934) 591: see also M. Galli, 'Fury Unleashed', in *Christian History*, Issue 52, Vol. XV, No. 4 (1997) 31-33.

¹⁷ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held).

¹⁸ H. Taylor (1934) 89-92.

¹⁹ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held).

²⁰ Copy of Graduation Certificate Adelaide Children's Hospital, 25 October 1902 (privately held).

²¹ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held): Copy of Wedding Certificate, 13 February 1906 (privately held).

²² Ibid: The city of Chungking, with a population then of around 700,000, stands on a peninsular formed by the junction of the Yangtse and Kailing (Jailing) Rivers with a backdrop of mountains, A. J. Austin (1986) 53 & 54.

reared five children in China, their first a daughter, Mary Allison (known as Allison) who was born on 1 January 1907. Then Douglas Henry (henceforth Douglas) born 3 November 1908, followed by Walter (Wal) born in 1910 at Chenyuan as the family travelled to Shanghai to board the ship *Eastern* for furlough in Australia. Wal died near Geelong, Victoria in 2005. In the following years were born Faith (1914-1925), who died in China, and Alfred (Alf) born 1917, who died in Sydney in 2003.²³

Douglas was two years old when he travelled with his family to Australia for furlough, arriving in Launceston, Tasmania in January 1911 to visit Pike Snr's parents. A few weeks later they journeyed to Adelaide and stayed in a cottage at the seaside suburb of Henley Beach with Louisa's sister Nance. Furlough included not only a change of scenery and some rest but numerous speaking engagements to stir missionary interest in China and Pike Snr was in constant demand at churches and mission rallies. Towards the end of the year they retraced their journey to Launceston, then returned to China.²⁴

Plans to return to their previous work were thwarted, for during 1911 and 1912 revolutionary war erupted in China, causing them to remain at Chinkiang, Kiangsu. Six months later it was deemed safe for the family, accompanied by two young women missionaries, to travel up river by houseboat. A storm nearly wrecked their vessel on Tungling Lake (Hunan) and they anchored in midstream at night rather than tie up on the shore for fear of bandits. By now it was the middle of summer, and one hot evening the group paddled in the muddy water at the edge of the river and three-year-old Douglas ventured into deep water. Only the intervention of one of the young women saved him from drowning. What memories remained with Douglas and what, if any, effect it had on him is not known.²⁵

²³ Andrew Pike to J. Calvert, 11 November 2003; M. Keeble to J. Calvert, 1 August 2004 (all privately held).

²⁴ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held).

²⁵ A. Butler to O. Pike, November 1979 (privately held).

However, it was the first of several documented experiences for Douglas that may have contributed to the formation of an emotionally reserved character in adult life.

In the late summer of 1912 the family returned to Tuhshan, but concern for travel safety meant a further two years delay before travel arrangements were initiated for Allison to commence school in the far north-east at Chefoo (Yantai) in Shandong Province, located on the southern coast of the Bohai Sea (Strait of Pohai). Originally a small fishing village, it became a 'Treaty Port' after 1858 and the capture of Peking by the Anglo-French armies.²⁶ With the country in turmoil from continued disturbance by bandits and wandering soldiers, Louisa Pike was occupied with frequent surgical procedures removing bullets from wounded soldiers. Afternoons were spent teaching Allison elementary school lessons and sewing school clothes in preparation for the commencement of her education, while Pike Snr was involved with mission activities. In 1913 five-year old Douglas suffered an attack of dysentery and his father nursed him back to health. The following year (1914) his sister Faith was born. Such was the atmosphere of young Douglas Henry Pike's pre-school years and while home may have seemed 'normal' in the security of his family, he was old enough to be aware of banditry and military events outside the home.²⁷

Douglas's world was about to expand in a new direction as he prepared to leave home and accompany his sister Allison to school. The Chefoo schools with separate buildings for boys and girls, plus one preparatory school; had an enviable reputation as the only educational establishment 'east of Suez' granted the privilege of administering the Oxford examinations for entry to that university. The teachers were generally university graduates from Britain, and high academic standards were emphasised. Children often did not see their parents for years, so to encourage a family atmosphere the schools employed single, married and widowed

²⁶ S. Miller, *Pigtails, Petticoats and the Old School Tie* (Kent, OMF, 1981) 23.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

women as unofficial aunts and housekeepers.²⁸ In late October 1914 Allison and Douglas, accompanied by their mother, left the rest of their family for the three-month journey to Chefoo. Louisa and her two elder children travelled overland, arrived in Shanghai during preparations for Christmas and in February 1915, sailed from Shanghai on a three-day voyage by coastal ship chartered by the school. They had experienced Chinese winters but never known cold like that which greeted them at the coastal port of Chefoo. Louisa stayed at the CIM guesthouse while Allison and Douglas went straight into the school. There were no electric blankets and no hot water bottles unless the family provided them. The Pike children were totally unprepared for the shock of such a bitter climate and Douglas could not sleep. The headmistress, Miss Blackmore, was so concerned that she allowed him to sleep in her bed. Their mother left after a few days to return to Shanghai and then the long journey home to her husband, and other children.²⁹ Most people remember their first days at school and without documentation we can only assume that this was another incident imbedded in Douglas's memory that contributed to an inner rebellion, particularly against his mother.

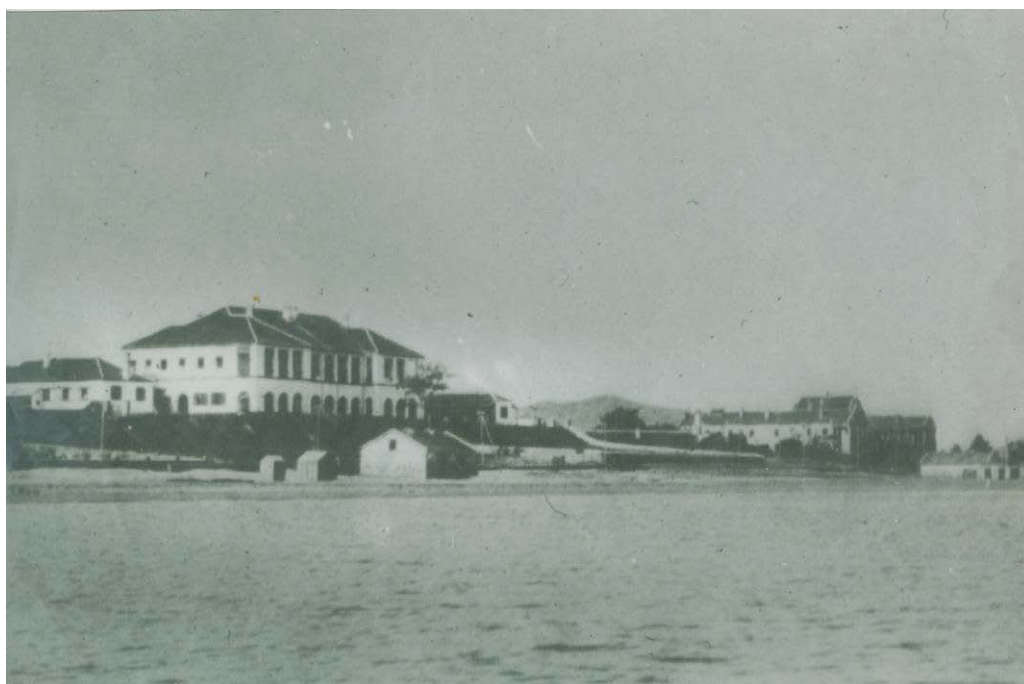


Figure 2: Chefoo School

²⁸ A. J. Austin (1986) 278 & 279 & 331; S. Miller (1981) 78.

²⁹ A. Butler to O. Pike, November 1979 (privately held).

When Allison arrived at school aged eight, she was educationally prepared, but Douglas aged six, refused to learn. Leaving his parents at such a young age, travelling hundreds of miles into strange territory, and being confronted with so many new scholars plus teachers in a strange environment and with his sister as the only familiar companion, was overwhelming for him. Allison remembered him asking, 'I'm going to school with you, aren't I, Allison?' It was the same school, but divided into boys' and girls' dormitories, and with separate classes. They had entered a new sphere where dress, regimentation, expectations, food and life style required considerable adjustment.³⁰ There was no returning home, and the door of their past was shut. Allison adapted to the surroundings but Douglas struggled within himself and formed attitudes that were to haunt him in later life. The physical distance between parents and children was vast, with communication an effort that young children found too deep for comprehension. Not only was there the mysterious introduction of boarding school life with its loneliness in the midst of the school population, but the then unknown fact that another four years would elapse before they again saw their parents.³¹

Another near-drowning incident at Chefoo involving a capsized punt followed by hysteria through being trapped under the punt also affected Douglas. Allison remembers, 'Doug was never strong and took illnesses badly'.³² All five Pike children attended Chefoo, with Allison and Wal eventually returning to China as CIM missionaries.³³ Although Allison and Douglas remained close in their relationship as brother and sister throughout their lives, Douglas was to harbour resentment against his mother for what he regarded as her desertion.³⁴ The Chefoo School reflected the values of the China Inland Mission, with both mission and school regarded as spartan, puritan and evangelical with a narrow view of life. Theatre,

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ P. E. Brotchie (1999) nos. 789 & 823.

³⁴ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held).

dancing and modern music were neglected. Books, organised sports and outdoor activities were to the fore. The school was unique as a boarding-school in a North Asian setting, following a curriculum that climaxed with matriculation standard Oxford Examinations. The British (and Australian) flavour was officially maintained by Empire Day celebrated with a holiday on Queen Victoria's birthday, 24 May. Patterned on the English public school system, each senior boy had his 'fag', who were often used as bed warmers and then turned out into their own cold beds.³⁵ Even in winter the English style Eton uniforms and knee-length pants were standard requirements for boys.³⁶ Despite any dreams, either rare or frequent, of student rebellion against a rigid system, Chefoo had won a reputation for providing a solid education towards the development of its boarders.³⁷

During four months of summer weather each year pupils participated in cricket, tennis, soccer, hockey and fives, and 'observed an English unwillingness to quarrel with an umpire's decision'.³⁸ Despite the presence of European, American and Australian boarders, the English character and atmosphere prevailed in the hymns and prayers of worship and the dessert diet of 'stodge' pudding at mealtimes. Teaching in English was essential and emphasised to the neglect of Chinese language, history and culture. In that sense the school setting and the influence on the pupils was an oasis apart from the Chinese society in which it was situated.³⁹ Any knowledge of Chinese history and culture must have been obtained by Douglas through reading, observation and hearsay rather than formal education.

The above illustrates some difficult school experiences of Douglas Pike but on the other side the boys enjoyed their school 'gangs', the Jolly Rogers and the War Arrows

³⁵ G. Martin. *Chefoo School 1881-1951: A History and Memoir*, (Devon, Merlin Books, 1990) 19-21: A. Butler to O. Pike, November 1979 (privately held).

³⁶ R. Moore to J. Calvert, (former pupil) 26 July 2003 (privately held).

³⁷ G. Martin (1990) 19-21.

³⁸ Ibid, 21.

³⁹ Ibid, 21.

involving scouting expeditions and wrestling near old war trenches.⁴⁰ Fine winter weather meant hockey games, and snowfalls brought opportunities for tobogganing and wearing *hoggy doggys*; dog skin fur socks and pigskin straw shoes in the snow and ice.⁴¹



Figure 3: Jolly Rogers “Gang” – Douglas Pike centre front (c.1918)

In that early part of the twentieth century it was mission policy that parents paid their own way to visit their children and years of frugal saving from their meagre remittances were required to cover the fares. Missionaries working in the more remote inland areas of the country were permitted to visit the coast every three years, but in 1917 when the children had been in school for three years, political unrest meant travel delay until November 1918. By the time they were reunited four years had elapsed since Allison and Douglas had seen their parents. Allison Butler (formerly Pike) stated years later that their parents wrote to them once a week, alternatively, and she and Douglas had a family photo over their beds, but a later

⁴⁰ S. Miller (1981) 86: F. H. Judd, ‘1880-1942: A History of the CIM School at Chefoo, China’, in *The Chefoo Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (December 1986) 25, [Reprinted from *Chefoo Schools Association Magazine* (1948-54)] 25.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

photo was lost before Douglas viewed it. He did not recognise his parents when they met after four years separation, 'he never adjusted', and 'called his father 'Sir' and his mother, 'Miss'.'⁴²



Figure 4: The Pike Family (c.1918)
Wal, Faith, Douglas Snr., Louisa, and Alf, Douglas, Allison



Figure 5: Allison, Douglas, Wal, and Faith Pike on school verandah (c.1920)

⁴² A. Butler to O. Pike, November 1979 (privately held).

In July 1922 Douglas passed the Oxford Junior Local examination and by October 1924, both Allison and Douglas had completed their high school years and passed the Oxford Senior Exam, with Douglas achieving seventh place.⁴³ This overview reveals the home, education and something of the atmosphere in which Douglas developed his early thinking and attitude to life. China at that time did not provide westerners with suitable opportunities for work or tertiary study, so both Douglas and Allison needed to journey to Australia with their parents. Travel preparation, including packing and disposing of some sixteen years of belongings, meant it was not until October 1924 that arrangements were finalised to sail for Melbourne. During the interim Douglas taught in the Boys' School and the five Pike siblings spent their last period of time together.⁴⁴ Their father worked in China for twenty-eight years and took only two furloughs with his wife. This was the second occasion, thirteen years after the first. In those days missionary parents were expected to leave their children at school while absent on furlough. So Walter, Faith and Alf remained at Chefoo School while Allison and Douglas embarked by ship with their parents for Australia.⁴⁵

Missionaries preparing for furlough in their home country needed to organise long in advance both for travel and personnel replacement for the ministry that engaged them over the length of time they would be absent, on this occasion some twelve months.⁴⁶ From Shanghai the Pikes sailed to Hong Kong, then Melbourne via Sydney, and were reunited with their mother's family.⁴⁷ On one hand the senior Pikes were required to contact the CIM headquarters and make arrangements to visit church groups on behalf of the mission. On the other, their immediate concern was to assist Allison and Douglas acclimatise into the reverse

⁴³ S. Miller (1981) 80 & 81: R. Moore to J. Calvert, 26 July 2003 (privately held): Correspondence M. Richmond, University of Melbourne, to J. Calvert, 6 September 2002 and University of Melbourne Archives; enrolment no. 250721, 29 May 1925, No. 719: Correspondence Allison Butler, Douglas Pike's elder sister to Olive Pike, 13 September 1979 (privately held).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid; Alf Pike - J. Calvert interview, 21 June 2002 (privately held).

⁴⁶ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held).

⁴⁷ Ibid.

culture shock of adjusting to life in a developing western style city after ten years in a British-style foreign boarding school. Allison and Douglas began life in their new Melbourne environment, and their parents became involved in missionary deputation meetings in Victoria, and interstate.⁴⁸

Even though Wal and Alf remained at Chefoo, Pike Snr and his wife were naturally eager to return to China for when they departed from China, their youngest daughter Faith was limping from some unknown ailment. Unexpectedly they were asked to delay their Melbourne departure to care for the Mission General Director, Mr. D. E. Hoste, who had succeeded Hudson Taylor in 1900, and had become ill.⁴⁹ But in China during this time, Faith was diagnosed with tuberculosis in her hip which then travelled into her spine. In November 1925 she was operated on at a Mission Hospital but never recovered. The day after her parents left Melbourne to return to China, Faith died.⁵⁰ There was care and support from missionaries and the Chefoo School but the only family at her funeral were her two brothers, Wal and Alf. Allison (aged 18) and Douglas (aged 17) remained in Melbourne, neither aware of their little sister's demise.⁵¹ There is no record as to when Douglas received news of his sister's death but no doubt it not only affected his university studies but his growing hostility to the mission. Allison completed her general nursing, midwifery and secretarial training before attending the Melbourne Bible Institute.⁵² She then returned to China as a missionary with CIM and married South Australian-born Rowland Butler in 1933.⁵³

When Louisa and her husband arrived back in Shanghai, banditry had increased with numerous gangs attacking settlements and small groups of travellers and kidnapping

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid: Hoste continued Taylor's regulations for missionaries: no marriage until two years probation was completed, no bobbed hair for women, Chinese dress at mission stations and personal poverty, see A. J. A. Austin (1986) 234.

⁵⁰ Faith died 2 November 1925, see P. E. Brotchie (1999) nos. 294 & 359.

⁵¹ A. Butler to O. Pike, November 1979 & 15 January 1980 (privately held).

⁵² Melbourne Bible Institute (MBI) now known as Bible College of Victoria (BCV).

⁵³ M. Keeble, 'Butler, Richard James Rowland', in *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, ed. B. K. Dickey (Sydney, Evangelical History Association, 1994) 61.

Europeans and Chinese for ransom.⁵⁴ It was unsafe for the Pikes to return to their former work at Kweichow so they remained in Shanghai until 1928, when they were posted to Anshun to care for new missionaries.⁵⁵

In 1929 Pike Snr escorted two new male missionaries to their mission station at Hingi in the south of the province. For the Pikes and others of their ilk in the CIM it was always the call to God's work that came first, before family, comfort or position. Pike Snr had written from that area on the 4 September that the neighbourhood was infested with robbers and 1,000 were on the march not far away. He was granted a travel pass from the authorities but a day after commencing his journey on 13 September 1929 he was ambushed and held for ransom by brigands. A mission publication informed readers of lawlessness in the province of Kweichow during which the Governor was killed.⁵⁶ The following monthly journal referred to a radiogram received from China and dated 12 December 1929 informing readers of Pike Snr's death.⁵⁷

For Louisa there was only silence for the next few weeks of September. Allison Pike's future husband, Rowland Butler, was already a missionary with the CIM, and realised that covert investigation was the only way to ferret out information. Butler employed a man to set out disguised as a pedlar to unearth the events of Pike Snr's situation. Mystery surrounds the account but the story given to the pedlar by a farm couple was regarded as accurate. They explained that a foreigner and other prisoners, including their own son, had been lined up alongside a lime pit, shot and their bodies thrown into the pit. Their remains were never found.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ A. J. A. Austin (1986) 235.

⁵⁵ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held).

⁵⁶ *China's Millions*, (November, 1929) 5.

⁵⁷ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held): *China's Millions* (December, 1929) 5; *Sydney Morning Herald* (13 December 1929) 3.

⁵⁸ P. E. Brotchie (1999) nos. 294 & 359.

Allison Butler remembered her father as a natural humorist with an endless fund of jokes. He was also an excellent linguist, a capable Bible teacher and an effective preacher.⁵⁹ Some of these character traits continued in his eldest son who was also to become a country itinerant, a preacher and a teacher with an interesting twist of humour in his storytelling.

Without documentation, no one can know how Douglas responded when the news of his father's cruel demise arrived, or by what means he heard. Presumably he received a letter but from whom and in what manner is lost in the expanse of the vast outback in which he was then domiciled. Except for verbal outbursts to his mother years later and an attitude which apparently blamed the CIM and harboured grief and frustration at the loss of his little sister and his father, we are unsure of his emotions during that period. But Allison records that Douglas would express his feelings to her; 'he hated his upbringing, so puritanical, it gave him a bad conscience when he did things he had been taught not to do, such as dancing and drinking'.⁶⁰ With no stated date for that confession it still illustrates the battle that surfaced to his sister but remained submerged to others.



Figure 6: The Pike Family (1925: Hawthorn, Victoria)
(L to R) Allison, Louisa, Douglas (Snr.), Douglas (Jr.)

⁵⁹ A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held).

⁶⁰ A. Butler to O. Pike, November 1979 (privately held).

CHAPTER 2: MELBOURNE AND THE BUSH

“You’re nearly as good as an intelligent sheep-dog to talk to, Smith – when a man gets tired of thinking to himself and wants a relief. You’re a bit of a mug and a good deal of an idiot, and the chances are that you don’t know what I’m driving at half the time – that’s the main reason why I don’t mind talking to you. You ought to consider yourself honoured; it ain’t every man I take into my confidence, even that far.”⁶¹

The previous chapter introduced the main character of this thesis, Douglas Pike (from now on referred to as Pike except where possible confusion with other family members) whose reaction to his upbringing affected his outlook on life but in a different way to his siblings. His sisters and brothers shared with him a similar background in family and school, but their responses to mission education and the attitudes they exhibited in adult years were at a tangent to his. This chapter will cover Pike’s late teenage, young adult and more mature period, and commences with Allison and her brother Douglas travelling to Australia with their parents in late 1924.

The previous chapter noted that in 1924, Pike completed his school requirements and achieved seventh place in the Oxford Senior Examinations.⁶² He was accepted as a part-time student at the University of Melbourne *ad eundem* in 1925, in Latin and English.⁶³ During this period he lived with his mother’s sister and financially supported himself as a junior state teacher at the Spring Road State School with the Victorian Education Department.⁶⁴ Failure in both Latin and English examinations at the end of the year turned his thoughts to other

⁶¹ H. Lawson, ‘How Steelman told his story’, *The Bush Undertaker: and other stories* (Sydney & London, Angus & Robertson, 1970) 51.

⁶² Pike passed in English, History, Latin, Geography, Religious knowledge, Arithmetic & Drawing: Correspondence Mark Richmond, University of Melbourne, to J. Calvert, 6 September 2002 and University of Melbourne Archives; enrolment no. 250721, 29 May 1925, No. 719: Correspondence Allison Butler, Douglas Pike’s elder sister to Olive Pike, 13 September 1979 (privately held).

⁶³ University of Melbourne Archives, 6 September 2002.

⁶⁴ Correspondence from Andrew Pike to Professor John La Nauze, 20 September 1974, Q31/ADB Staff File; B. Nairn, ‘D. H. Pike’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 16: 1940-1980, Pik-Z, eds. J. Ritchie & D. Langmore (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, Victoria 2002), 1&2.

pursuits. Presumably a combination of culture shock, loneliness despite his sister being in the same city, and juggling study and teaching was too much of a change from the regimentation of boarding school. Despite his examination failure, Pike was listed to sit supplementary examinations early the following year, but did not appear and did not seek re-admission.⁶⁵ Years later Pike stated that his reason for leaving university and heading for the country was health problems, although no specific issues were mentioned.⁶⁶

To fill in time at the end of 1925, he was encouraged by friends of his parents to visit the CSSM in Sydney, an interdenominational Christian organisation which conducted children's beach mission evangelistic camps.⁶⁷ The mission leaders realised that the quiet teenager had time on his hands and needed direction for the next few months. Contact with one of their supporters, a farmer named John Watts from outside Quirindi, southwest of Tamworth in New South Wales, gave opportunity for Pike to enjoy a holiday and farm work and to learn the skills of country life and working with sheep.⁶⁸

A more permanent change of scene was approaching, for during his time on Watts' property early in 1926, Pike had met the Dulhunty family at their holdings 'The Rivers', Borambil. In January 1927 he moved to their property in the western district areas of Cassilis-Merriwa, northeast of Mudgee, NSW.⁶⁹ The bush with its testing lessons of learning new survival skills was his university campus and the scene of Pike's activities for the next decade, except for two interruptions. Pike spent an unknown period of time as overseer on the Collaroy Station (Callaroi), famous for its merino stud, ten miles east of Cassilis, but

⁶⁵ M. Richmond, Archivist, University of Melbourne, to J. Calvert, 6 September 2002.

⁶⁶ D. Pike to The Registrar, University of Western Australia, 12 September 1948; Pike to The Registrar, University of Adelaide, 17 December 1949.

⁶⁷ Children's Special Service Mission, an organisation linked to Scripture Union (SU). See J. & M. Prince *Tuned in to Change, A History of the Australian Scripture Union 1880-1980*, (Sydney, Scripture Union 2000); Wal Pike - J. Calvert interview, 26 January 2002 (privately held).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ B. Nairn, 'D. H. Pike', *ADB*, 16 (2002) 1.

remained linked with the Dulhunts until mid-1938.⁷⁰ The other intermission was during 1929-1931, and had been prompted by Pike's sense of not achieving much of significance in life, so he headed for the city and a taste of 'normal life'.⁷¹ Both Pike's brother Wal, and Wal's niece Marjorie Keeble (daughter of Allison Butler), verify that he would 'drift back to Sydney', being employed on various occasions by a Mr. Bethel in the basement of his religious printing firm in Pitt Street, Sydney. Wal Pike had the impression that his brother could have obtained longer employment if he had elected to remain in Sydney.⁷²

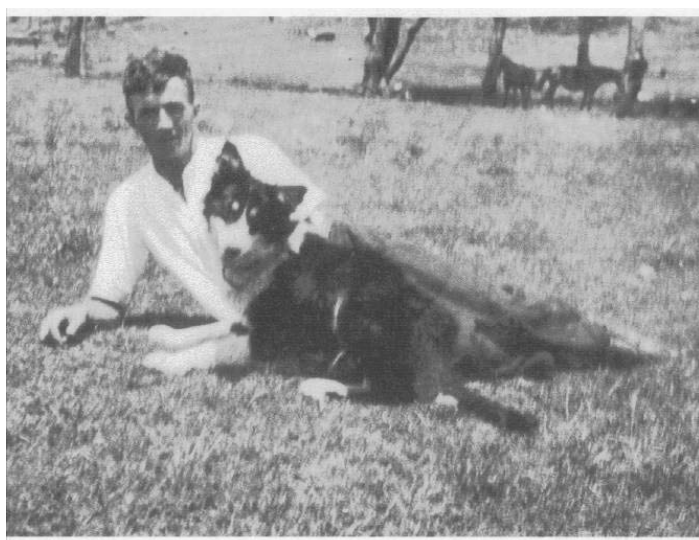


Figure 7: Douglas Pike and his dog Merriwa-Cassilis (c.1930)



Figure 8: Douglas Pike shearing at Merriwa (1938)

⁷⁰ G. Walsh to J. Calvert 1 July 2002 (privately held); B. Nairn, 'D. H. Pike', 16 (2002) 1: For Collaroy Station accounts see, T. O'Brien, *Down Came a Jumbuck: The Indigenous Australian Woolshed*, (Muswellbrook, Hunter Valley Printing Company Pty. Ltd. 1994) 18; G. A. Brown, *Australian Merino Studs*, (Melbourne, Walker, May & Co., 1904) 162-165: 'Merino Records', *Australian Stud Merino Flock Register*, Vol. XXVI (1949) 334.

⁷¹ W. Pike - J. Calvert interview, 26 January 2002 (privately held).

⁷² D. Pike to La Nauze: W. Pike to J. Calvert, 18 September 1999 (privately held); M. Keeble to J. Calvert, 18 November 2002 (privately held); B. Nairn, 'D. H. Pike' (2002) 1.

The account of Pike's years in the country cannot at this stage be ascertained from the areas in which he lived from late 1925 until 1938. Neither the Merriwa Historical Society nor the Muswellbrook Historical Society has records of Pike or the property owned by John Watts.⁷³ Although Pike's name does not appear in electoral records, the 1928 electoral roll lists John Joseph Dulhunty, a grazier at 'Golden Tops', Cassilis and his wife Blanche Marquerite.⁷⁴ At one time Pike was a jackeroo on their property although the exact year is uncertain. His brother Wal believes the property was sold sometime later.⁷⁵

Early in 1926 Wal Pike returned from China alone by ship following the conclusion of his own school education, disembarked in Sydney and stayed for a month with his brother Douglas on John Watts's farm, enjoying country life including daily horse riding.⁷⁶ This arrangement means there must have been correspondence between the brothers and presumably from their parents, Douglas and Louisa Pike to their son Douglas. Following this holiday, the brothers intended leaving for Melbourne, Wal to study pharmacy and his brother to return to University. Watts asked Wal to remain and promised to teach him property management. Wal declined and he and Douglas headed for Melbourne. Travelling south, the brothers attended some CSSM camps in the vicinity of Shell Harbour, near Wollongong on the NSW south coast.⁷⁷

At one camp Douglas Pike had given the impression he was studying in the room he shared with Wal, but it was soon obvious that he had been inwardly debating his immediate future. What Pike's thoughts were remains a mystery for he gave no explanation to his brother. Nor, apparently did he advise the University of Melbourne that he would not be

⁷³ C. Douch to J. Calvert, Research Officer Merriwa Historical Society, 5 December 2002 (privately held); R. Tickle, Historian, Muswellbrook Historical Society, to J. Calvert, 6 December 2002 (privately held).

⁷⁴ C. Douch to J. Calvert, 12 November 2002 (privately held), John Dulhunty was born in Queanbeyan in 1881: See also *The Australian Pastoral Directory* (Sydney, The Pastoral Review, Pty. Ltd, 1929) 129, which lists no cattle holdings but 1,250 sheep.

⁷⁵ W. Pike to J. Calvert, 18 September 1999 (privately held): youngest brother Alf continued his education at Chefoo.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

resuming his study. He told his brother he was heading back to Sydney and returning to the country. The only area with which Douglas Pike was familiar was John Watts's property. But Watts had made other arrangements and the gate was closed for a return to work. Without prospects of secure employment he became an itinerant and moved around as an odd-job labourer doing any work available, whereas Wal continued to Melbourne and commenced pharmacy studies.⁷⁸ This was the last occasion the brothers were in contact for a number of years. His nomadic lifestyle meant that neither Wal nor Allison was aware of his precise whereabouts. When the news of Faith's death did arrive he was isolated from his family. This devastating event occurring so far away was one that he internalised, along with the murder of his father a few years later.⁷⁹

During 1929 Pike continued his work 'starting as a rouseabout and ending as manager'.⁸⁰ However, he was oblivious of the saga that was soon to envelop his parents in China, particularly his father's murder in September 1929.⁸¹ Unconfirmed reports suggest that he was sent a copy of *Millions* containing reference to his father's death. However the news came, he must have felt devastated.

The next few years are lost in mystery. By 1934, Pike's youngest brother Alf had completed his schooling and journeyed with his mother Louisa by ship to Australia. The last occasion Louisa had made the voyage to her homeland she was accompanied by her husband, and two eldest children. Now the trip was tinged with sadness for the bodies of Pike Snr and youngest daughter Faith were in China. Her eldest daughter Allison with her husband Rowland Butler were also in China working on their mission station, as was Louisa's other son Wal, a CIM mission pharmacist.⁸²

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ *China's Millions* (November 1929) 5: (January 1930) 3. The CIM magazine containing missionary news. D. Pike to *The Registrar*, University of Adelaide, 17 December 1949, D.674/51.

⁸¹ Correspondence A. Butler to O. Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held); M. L. Loane (1965) 72 & 73: *China's Millions* (November 1929) 5: *The Sydney Morning Herald* (13 December 1929) 3.

⁸² Alf Pike - J. Calvert interview, 21 June 2002 (privately held).

The first mainland port was Sydney where Louisa and Alf disembarked and travelled inland by train to visit Pike. These arrangements indicate that Pike's whereabouts were known and some connection with him had been maintained. Ten years had passed since Pike had last seen his mother and youngest brother, Alf. Again there are no letters extant from that period, but Alf knew his brother's whereabouts, although any contact was intermittent.

By 1934 Pike was working on Dulhunty's property so Alf and Louisa arranged to stay with him for a month's holiday during spring that year. Alf's recollection of the visit was that he 'had the time of his life' enjoying his first bush experience. Accommodation was sparse and the farm home where Louisa stayed was only a shanty, while Alf remembers sleeping in a wool shed. The family reunion was not successful. Their mother did not share Alf's enjoyment on the farm. While Douglas Pike was happy that his family visited, Alf remembers that Douglas did not want any close relationship with his mother. It had been five years since his father's murder and the visit rekindled memories of his little sister's death nine years before. Alf and older brother Wal had been at their sister's funeral, but Alf's recollection was that his brother harboured resentment at what he regarded as his parent's neglect of his sister, and was bitter at the manner of his father's death. As far as can be ascertained the news of both tragedies had taken months to reach him and he felt cut off, yet his lifestyle was one he had chosen. Alf remembers that his brother's response to years in boarding school linked with growing frustration about his future was very different to that of his siblings, although they had all shared a similar upbringing.⁸³

Pike's elder sister and brothers had careers and purpose in life. He was learning bushcraft and farm management, but year followed year without any set purpose. Except for the brief visits of his mother and two brothers, Pike added to his own isolation by rarely writing to his brothers. Sometime after the visit of his mother and youngest brother Alf, Pike's

⁸³ Ibid.

other brother Wal also returned from China and settled in Melbourne. Then, unexpectedly, Douglas Pike wrote a brief note to Wal, who was minding some of his possessions. ‘There’s a duffel bag, fill it with my things, put a chain on and lock it with my word lock and send me the keys of the word lock’.⁸⁴ Then he added, ‘No, you won’t need to send the key because I know the word, it is ‘bury’’.⁸⁵ This request suggested that he would remain in the country; the word ‘bury’ may imply a desire to bury the past, including his family.

This assumption seems evident as Pike continued to bury both himself and thoughts of his family in the country as he worked with livestock and farm maintenance. Manual work hardened his body and the vast paddock silences gave him a bush education that would become an unusual path to the academic life he would embrace in a future decade. With many of his outback associates Pike soon picked up the art of rolling his own cigarettes as he rode horses through the bush chasing cattle and enjoying a smog-free fresh country lifestyle.⁸⁶ Whether he ruminated about the meaning of his life, thought of his family, or read significant literature during these years remains a mystery. There may have been a wireless in the main house of the farms on which he worked, and if so, local and overseas news filtered through. Writing materials probably consisted of pencil stubs and steel-nibbed pens plus an ink bottle. Any literary production by Pike prior to his years in the bush has not been preserved, except for one extant document of sixty-three pages entitled, ‘Unnamed Novel’, which does belong to his pre-academic country years.⁸⁷

The first section comprises fifty-three closely typewritten pages. The unnamed story begins with the arresting words, ‘A big blue wallaroo stood drinking at the river edge’. The final page concludes abruptly, ‘That’s all’. In between, the hunter is suddenly introduced, a native with a throwing stick, then a dingo, the hunted wallaroo crippled and quickly

⁸⁴ A combination padlock using letters instead of numbers.

⁸⁵ W. Pike - J. Calvert interview, 26 January 2002 (privately held).

⁸⁶ Photographic evidence (held by Pike family).

⁸⁷ MS6869, NLA Box 15, 108-11.

dispatched by the aboriginal. Pike describes the aboriginal people spending, 'long sleepy days in the sun ... the sun was their friend'. The aborigines are described as following an animal existence until the white man arrived and drove them inland. He portrays them as 'a colourless people making less impression on a continent over untold centuries than a bush fire' (p. 4). The aboriginal focus runs throughout the novel, (which is his story) set between the Liverpool Ranges and the Great Divide at the formation of the Hunter River in New South Wales.⁸⁸

Pike's main themes are the significance of land and the accompanying sheep, early colonists, virgin bush, natives and grog. He mentions the well known Warrumbungles, and the developing towns of New South Wales: Muswellbrook, Maitland, Gulgong and Mudgee, as well as significant reference to Collaroy Station where he had worked for a period. His account is set in the nineteenth century but it is obvious that he is describing land and events from intimate experience. Personal touches of carving out a primitive living from the bush, snake bites, wild horses, dingoes, gold, troopers, and the Mudgee races, make much of the story autobiographical.

The initial pages are followed by one commencing either an additional chapter or another story, written in ink. These paragraphs, like the preceding pages, have the theme of 'the problem of the blacks', and the role of the troopers endeavouring to control their behaviour. While it is not possible to know the outline for the remainder of the story, one sentence, referring to a native, hints at autobiography. 'His life lacked past and future – was totally present'. Was this how Douglas Pike regarded his own life? Until the later arrival of his sister and her husband Rowland Butler, there seemed no way out from the never-ending country experience. Pike was learning bush skills and the management of sheep and cattle but not achieving the potential promised by his Oxford Entrance results.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

An additional hand-written page lists a few sentences with editorial type comments, also penned by Pike, analysing his own work for expanding the story. The continuation was apparently never achieved, but one sentence, 'The brumbies leading off the black horses could be expanded', points to his insightful writing and editorial ability realised years later.

Included with the above papers are a further eight typewritten pages of an apparently unrelated story. The theme is wheat and wool and includes the developing city of Newcastle in New South Wales. An attached note in an unknown hand suggests that the novel was 'written by Pike about the time of his marriage, based on his experiences in the outback'.⁸⁹

However, it seems more likely that the draft was originally penned during his country years or in the summer vacations during later theological study and then typed. Time available for such writing would have been insufficient at the end of his studies, as graduation, marriage and moving interstate followed in quick succession. It may be presumed that he read during his evenings in the bush and time-off from daily chores for he had a well-trained mind but the subject material is unknown. Many farm properties would have developed their own library in the main house, but local country libraries were scarce. Whether he was mentally content to spend his early adult years in total contrast to the formative years in China cannot be ascertained, for he kept no diary or letters from his country years.

The strange silence of those country years devoid of records was buried except for some family members and a few close friends. Even then he was circumspect, for some associates in future years who heard rumours of China, church and country remained unsure that he was anything but Australian-born and schooled. The country taught him to be patient in speech and action. Pike's niece remembers him as calm, gentle yet serious and contained.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Katie Skansebakken, (Pike's niece) to J. Calvert, 24 August 2002 (privately held).

For Douglas Pike, the years of semi-isolation introduced an entirely different method of post-school education to that experienced by his siblings. His country sojourn was in strong contrast to the majority of men and women he would associate with in the years ahead and gave him a broad understanding of life outside city and university confines. However the decade away from suburbia did not provide either Pike or the bush with means to escape from developing economic world financial collapse. Country areas were not immune from the severe economic depression that began in the late 1920s, but the farming and stock situation where Pike was domiciled maintained a level of viability. On one hand the Australia-wide country assessment showed that wool prices had plummeted and the whole of Australia's wool cheque in 1930 amounted to 27,000,000 pounds, with values lower the next year. On the other hand and despite need to tighten the belt, the Merriwa district was fortunate in receiving substantial rain, well distributed over the years 1926-1936 and graziers were able to maintain their stock levels during the Depression.⁹¹

We surmise that country life continued without any known dramas for Pike until the period leading to September 1938 when he returned to Melbourne and initiated a complete change of vocation instigated by three separate events that, when brought together, opened a new direction for him. One was financial. The Dulhuntys had been friendly to Pike for some years and supplied food and lodging, but were providing meagre wages. On the contrary they were dependent on him for financial assistance because the farm was not making any money. Pike had earlier provided cash to help the Dulhuntys survive but they did not see themselves able to reimburse him. The only way he could obtain money and live on his own was to leave the property and head for Melbourne, where he would catch up with his brother Alf and stay with their mother's sister Nance, in suburban Armadale.⁹²

⁹¹ H. M. Bettington, *The Lure of the Land: Historic Merriwa* (Merriwa, The Merriwa Historical Society, Revised Edition 1975) 118 & 119: see also C. B. Schedvin, *Australia and the Great depression: a study of economic development and policy in the 1920s and 1930s* (Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1970).

⁹² Alf Pike - J. Calvert interview, 21 June 2002 (privately held).

The second event was a visit from his sister Allison and her husband, Rowland Butler on furlough from China in late 1938. At that time Pike was working at 'The Rivers', Borambil and in a letter to his father, Butler described his family's journey by train followed by rail car and motor vehicle 'over a fearfully rough bush track', to an 'isolated spot about 260 miles from Sydney'.⁹³ Butler's letter contains the only extant description of Pike's location: 'We are right off the beaten track out in the sheep country where wild life runs wild'.⁹⁴ Butler was a means of rekindling Pike's faith in God and linking him with Christian connections in Sydney and Melbourne.⁹⁵ As a result Pike packed his gear, left the Dulhunty's property and travelled to Melbourne intending to follow his sister's path of Biblical training at MBI.⁹⁶ But he discovered he would have to wait until the following year.⁹⁷ He was not enamoured with denominational Colleges as most of them disregarded his time at University and required him to undertake a four-year theological course for the ordained ministry. Both of Pike's brothers Wal and Alf now lived in the Victorian capital. Wal had trained as a pharmacist and with his wife Jean had served in China with the CIM. They had now returned to Melbourne because of concerns about Jean's health. For the first time in fifteen years the three brothers were reunited and during the early months of the Second World War they enjoyed going out together in Melbourne.⁹⁸

⁹³ Borambil is near Cassilis, northeast of Mudgee NSW; R. Butler to his father, 20 July 1938 (copy privately held).

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ R. Butler to his parents in Adelaide, 13 August 1938 (copy privately held).

⁹⁶ Melbourne Bible Institute (MBI), now The Bible College of Victoria (BCV).

⁹⁷ Andrew Pike to J. La Nauze, 20 September 1974, Q31/QDB.

⁹⁸ Alf Pike - J. Calvert interview, 21 June 2002 (privately held).

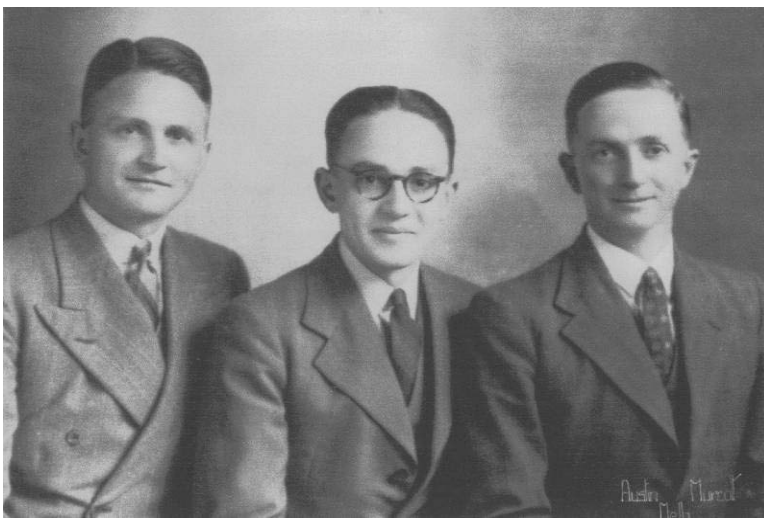


Figure 9: Alf, Wal, and Douglas Pike (Melbourne c.1939)

These occasions were the only recorded family get-togethers except for Douglas Pike's wedding a few years later. Both Wal and Alf separately saw their older brother many years later in Canberra but there was no occasion when the three brothers were again together. Wal remembers that their older sister was the main link in the family. 'Allison was the glue that held the family together. She did her best but I don't think the rest of us responded very much'.⁹⁹ These few observations raise more questions than can be answered about the social dynamics of the three brothers. However, rather than Pike being distanced from his younger brothers, it is clear from interviews and correspondence that the siblings were distanced from one another, except for Allison's letters. Pike's years in the outback had finished but they taught him lessons much broader than a tertiary education. He regarded his country experiences in the 'university of hard knocks' as an integral part of learning that would continue throughout his life.¹⁰⁰

The unexpected third occurrence was that during a visit to Sydney, Pike had met Thomas Hagger, who was minister of the Gardiner Churches of Christ in the Melbourne suburb of the same name.¹⁰¹ He reminded Pike physically of his own father; short, friendly, with an outgoing personality.¹⁰² Pike had no formal links with that denomination and his own father had been Methodist. So following his return to Melbourne to live with his aunt at

⁹⁹ Wal Pike - J. Calvert, 26 January interview, 26 January 2002 (privately held).

¹⁰⁰ *Canberra Times*, 26 March 1967.

¹⁰¹ G. Chapman, *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism: A History of the Churches of Christ in Australia* (Melbourne, Vital Publications, 1979): The suburb of Gardiner is now part of Glen Iris.

¹⁰² Wal Pike - J. Calvert, interview, 26 January 2002 (privately held).

Armadale, Hagger's influence opened the door to ministry in a denomination with which he had no previous connection. At the age of thirty his commencement application for theological studies at the Churches of Christ College of the Bible in Glen Iris, Melbourne, was geared to missionary work in Australia. It was dated 3 November 1938 and he began formal classes early the next year.¹⁰³

After more than a decade in the bush, and having largely to fend for himself, the change to city life would have been a culture surprise but maybe not a shock. The close proximity of some family members and the friendship of Hagger and his daughter would enable Pike to adjust. Pike left no written descriptions of life in College but other students from the same period have recorded their recollections. The Glen Iris College was a fourteen-roomed dwelling plus stables on eleven acres of land. One of the outside dormitory blocks was a three-room structure known as the 'Slums', an apparently apt description. From the Gardiner Railway Station students walked to the college and found their bed in a shared room, crowded with three or four inhabitants. Bedsteads and mattresses were supplied but students provided their own furniture. The typical wardrobe was a curtain across a corner of the room. College life was probably a shock for those who had previously lived at home, but Pike was accustomed to 'roughing it'.¹⁰⁴ Compared to Chefoo School, and his bush experiences, such amenities would not have caused Pike hardship.

Students were required to clean their dormitory, perform their own washing and do without heating or cooling, as radiators were banned for both economic and fire risk reasons. Steam pipe heating in the classrooms provided little relief in winter so students improvised with cans of hot water under their feet. Community life was regarded as part of education, since the lessons gained from rubbing shoulders with others was seen as essential for ministry

¹⁰³ Student Record College of the Bible, No. 464; Correspondence A. Titter, Archives Centre, College of the Bible, Melbourne, 6 March 2002.

¹⁰⁴ Correspondence Colin Curtis, 20 November 2004, *The Australian Christian* (25 November 1939) 765.

at home or overseas. This practice was typical of all Bible and Theological residential colleges. Sports, including football, cricket, tennis, table tennis and athletics, were encouraged and a large gymnasium was available. At the conclusion of Pike's first college year announcements were made that would make life somewhat less Spartan for students. The bathrooms were to be reconstructed, allowing internal access, plus a new hot water service. In addition, a new chapel was erected on the site of the existing laundry and weatherboard dormitories.¹⁰⁵

The years of Depression were giving way to an approaching war in Europe and the Pacific that would involve Australia. There were no scholarships available to assist students financially so Pike needed to support himself. To earn money he did occasional work on some Victorian farms. During his theological studies he was a member of Hagger's church in the Melbourne suburb of Gardiner and developed his ministry skills of preaching and pastoral work. Pike graduated with five other men at the closing session of the college on 27 November 1941 and was ordained at the Swanston Street chapel that same afternoon, his father-in-law giving the address.¹⁰⁶ Pike apparently seized the opportunity to develop his latent ability, for his academic marks were consistently high in all subjects.¹⁰⁷ Fellow students remember him as very intelligent, exhibiting a strong social conscience, possessing firm ideas, but not always easy to get on with. Pike was some ten years older than his peers, but was not a conformist; a trait evident in his later life.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ *The Australian Christian* (3 December 1941) 573.

¹⁰⁷ Pike achieved 88.1% in first year, 88.5% the next year, and 87.4% in his final year. Enrolment Card, Douglas H. Pike, College of the Bible Archives, 1939-41.

¹⁰⁸ J. Wright - J. Calvert, interview, 23 April 1999, Pike's fellow student, (privately held).



Figure 10: Olive Hagger (c. 1940)

During his years in theological college three more events occurred that were also to affect his life and attitude. The first was meeting Thomas Hagger's only daughter, Olive. They were married in Melbourne in the Hagger's home at Hartwell on 25 November 1941, his two brothers in attendance. Wal and Alf were not involved officially in the ceremony; no other family was present and the three brothers thereafter went their separate ways, with Douglas and Olive Pike travelling to South Australia, Alf to Sydney and Wal remaining in Melbourne. Two days after their wedding Pike was ordained. Olive was 38 years old and her husband five years younger.¹⁰⁹

A geographically separate but significant event happened during this period but thousands of miles further north. Pike's mother, Louisa, had been planning a visit to Melbourne. Known and unknown circumstances were to prevent her departure. When her youngest daughter Faith was born in 1914, Louisa had contracted phlebitis in one leg and still suffered from that ailment.¹¹⁰ In addition she had for years, particularly since her husband's murder, neglected her diet and increased her work load as a means of dealing with her grief.¹¹¹

For recuperation, and at their insistence, she often stayed with daughter Allison and her husband Rowland Butler at their home in China. News of the world outside China filtered through and Louisa would have been aware that the Second World War had erupted in Europe, and war with Japan was looming. She also knew her son Douglas was to be married

¹⁰⁹ Ibid: Andrew Pike to J. La Nauze, 20 September 1974, Q31/ADB.

¹¹⁰ Inflammation of the walls of a vein.

¹¹¹ Correspondence, Allison Butler to Olive Pike, 15 January 1980 (privately held).

and had booked her passage to leave China in December 1941, although her sailing date was after the ceremony. It is uncertain whether she knew the precise wedding details for travel became increasingly difficult. The Japanese attack at Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 and the fall of Hong Kong to the Japanese meant she travelled no further than Chungking and was forced to return to Tuhshan.¹¹²

Pike was obviously aware of the Pacific war but whether he was cognisant of his mother's health and forced travel alteration is uncertain. Her non-attendance at his wedding was a further element in the build up of resentment against her and the mission.

The seething rebellion churned within him for several more years until Louisa had retired from the mission. The eruption came during her visit to Douglas Pike and his family at Glenelg, South Australia. This visit coincided with the final days of his ministerial life and will be examined in the next chapter.

The third occurrence was the suggestion (apparently made by the College principal) that Pike focus future study in some aspect of theological education and within a few years return to the Churches of Christ College as a lecturer or possibly as principal. He engaged in study but the suggested position never eventuated for no official invitation was ever delivered.¹¹³ This disappointment apparently so affected Pike that it was one of the factors that turned him away from the church. The barriers of resentment had been developing for years but the old expression 'bury', from the key lock of his bag during his farming years, was a characteristic that kept the lid firmly on his emotions. Rarely did a glimmer of his past, in China or the bush, surface during his time in academia. Years later a fellow theological college student, Jim Wright, while ministering in a church at Ainslie, Canberra, visited Pike who was then editor of the *ADB*.¹¹⁴ They talked about past student days and present work

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ J. Wright to J. Calvert, 23 April 1999 (privately held).

¹¹⁴ Australian Dictionary of Biography, from now on *ADB*.

situations. To a question about his apparent unhappiness, Pike mentioned the closed door to theological lecturing; ‘You know what I wanted, Jimmy’.¹¹⁵ My deduction is that Pike was declaring more than disappointment with that theological ‘closed door’, which had been a vain hope, never opened to him. He had chosen to ‘close the door’ on his religious upbringing and church ministry, rather than combine academia and religious profession. It was his decision to ‘bury’ a past from which he could never adequately escape. Neville Meaney suggests that Pike; ‘was in some ways a disillusioned man – brought up in a strictly religious family he had lost his faith and had nothing to put in its place. He had struggled with this personal crisis but had not been able to resolve it’.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Geoffrey Blainey’s assessment that Pike was ‘very talented, very conscientious, but not sure till the end of his life, (without telling anyone) whether he should be in the church or the university’.¹¹⁷

Some twenty-five years before the above conversation between Pike and Wright, the denomination sent Pike and his wife Olive to Adelaide in late 1941 where he commenced a circuit ministry with two home mission churches in the southern Adelaide suburbs of Edwardstown and Colonel Light Gardens. Two years later he began ministerial duties at the beachside suburb of Glenelg.¹¹⁸

In the next chapter I will explore the commencement of Pikes’s ministerial duties which he combined with part-time study at the University of Adelaide. Presumably his university studies were to equip him for a ‘promised’ theological teaching position; but his future was to lead in an entirely different vocation.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ N. Meaney to J. Calvert, 21 February 2002 (privately held).

¹¹⁷ G. Blainey to J. Calvert, 10 April 2002 (privately held).

¹¹⁸ D. Beiler, ed. Compiler with E. Wilson, S. Beck & E. Beiler, *Deep Roots and High Hopes: The Story of Glenelg (SA) Church of Christ, Gordon St., First 100 years, 1887-1987* (Adelaide, 1987), 22; H. R. Taylor, *The History of Churches of Christ in South Australia 1846-1959* (Adelaide, The Churches of Christ Evangelistic Union Inc. SA, 1959) 96, 100, 103-104.



Figure 11: Pastor Douglas Pike during his Glenelg pastorate (c.1945)

CHAPTER 3: THE PATH TO HISTORY

Among the things that distinguish the self righteousness of South Australia from that of other states are, I suggest, the myths entwined around the early sense of achievement and the remains of pride that this was the model colony which pioneered the struggle for religious and civil liberty. These memories of the past are, to some extent, used as compensations to

excuse any further effort. The triumphs of South Australia should be sought not on the field of economics but at the altar and the hearth.¹¹⁹



Figure 12: The Pike Wedding (1941)
(L to R) Alf, --, Wal, --, Douglas, --, --, Olive, --

Following their late November 1941 Melbourne wedding, Douglas and Olive Pike travelled to their first church ministry position in the South Australian capital, Adelaide. With no collateral to purchase their own home they followed the accepted practice of moving into a church owned house near Edwardstown West. The property was situated opposite the railway line in the adjoining suburb of Black Forest.¹²⁰ Church protocol in most Protestant denominations at that time frowned upon minister's wives obtaining paid work outside the church, and having been brought up in a clergy home, Olive Pike was well aware of church expectations, that the minister's wife be an unpaid assistant for her husband.

The induction and welcome for the Pikes was held at the Edwardstown church on Sunday 7 December and the following Sunday, Pike preached his first sermon.¹²¹ A few months later the College of the Bible (where Pike had trained for the ministry) published its

¹¹⁹ D. Pike, 'The Social and Religious Background to the Foundation of South Australia: the creation of a sentiment of civil and religious liberty'. MA Thesis, University of Adelaide (presented for the Tinline Scholarship, 1950) iv.

¹²⁰ 20 Canterbury Tce., Black Forrest.

¹²¹ *The Australian Christian* (17 December 1941) 596.

Honours list for the final term of 1941 and Pike achieved that standard in all five subjects, a significant contrast to his studies sixteen years before.¹²² The first year of preaching and visiting his people in 1942 was a period of becoming used to another change of lifestyle following years as a jackeroo and three years theological study. He was officially welcomed by the denomination at the 1942 September Annual Conference, preached on two official Conference occasions and was elected to two committees.¹²³ This procedure introduced him to a wider church family in a city where he was still a comparative stranger. Douglas and Olive Pike's domestic situation altered early in 1943 with the birth of their first son, also named Douglas.¹²⁴ Soon after his son's arrival and with church permission, Pike commenced a part-time Arts Degree at the University of Adelaide.

Pike's path in history was established under the direction of department head G. V. Portus, Professor of History and Political Science, an influential teacher and Pike obtained a credit pass in his first year examination.¹²⁵ Later that year, on the understanding that his university studies continued, Pike accepted appointment to the larger church of Glenelg, which necessitated a house move into that area.¹²⁶

The demands of a growing church, juggled with family responsibilities and undergraduate studies continued throughout the war years. Soon after the war ended Douglas and Olive Pike's family was completed with the birth of their second son, Andrew.¹²⁷ Ministering in a larger church, with morning and evening congregations averaging around one

¹²² Apologetics, 88: Church History II, 95: Hermeneutics & Exegesis, 90: Logic, 80: Homiletics III, 86: *The Australian Christian*, Vol. XLV, No. 5, 4 February, 1942, 57: also The College of the Bible Enrolment Card, 19 February 1941, Archives No. 464.

¹²³ Churches of Christ Evangelistic Union Inc., South Australia, sixty-eighth Annual Conference, 18 to 24 September, 1942, 5, 8, 37, 47: *The Australian Christian* (7 October, 1942) 470.

¹²⁴ Douglas Pike born 23 February 1943.

¹²⁵ W. Prest, ed. *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History* (Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 2001), 411: *Calendar of the University of Adelaide, 1944* (Advertiser Newspapers Ltd. Printers, Marlborough Place, 1944) 390.

¹²⁶ D. Beiler (1987) 22-25: *The Australian Christian* (5 April 1944) 163: Douglas and Olive lived at 30 Sturt Street, St. Leonards (now Glenelg North): Walter Pike - J. Calvert interview, 26 January 2002 (privately held): Student Card D. H. Pike, University of Adelaide, Register No. 8442.

¹²⁷ Andrew, born 1 January 1946.

hundred, parenting a growing family and enjoying the challenge of tertiary study raises the question as to whether Pike had now found the niche and purpose for his life's work.¹²⁸ There are no extant personal documents that reveal Pike's inner thoughts during these years. Apparently Pike had embarked on tertiary study because of possible future teaching at his theological college in Melbourne. Although there is no documented evidence for this lecturing position, there was verbal understanding supported by Pike's fellow theological students. Pike himself anticipated that once he had obtained university qualifications, such a placement was possible.¹²⁹

However, over the course of his years in Melbourne and Adelaide, unanticipated changes in society had occurred. War with Germany had been declared towards the end of his first year at college. The first sermon at his Adelaide church coincided with the date Japan attacked Pearl Harbour. The Pacific War had escalated. Teachers and pupils at his former school at Chefoo in China had been evacuated and the buildings were soon to be destroyed by the advancing Japanese. Australia was at war, so college finances were precarious and the encouragement to undertake additional study occurred because of Pike's high examination marks at the Glen Iris College. Nevertheless, such a position never eventuated. This disappointment was a major blow to a future that Pike was seeking to achieve through his university studies. He was acting on advice he believed had been given at the conclusion of his college course, and therefore regarded tertiary study as the necessary step to theological teaching. The closed door to the Glen Iris College was another illustration of the previously noted, 'bury', the word lock on his bag in Melbourne during his country years.¹³⁰ Once again, past and present events had contrived to thwart him. On one hand Pike's relatively mature age in comparison with his peers was no barrier to friendship with fellow students, and had given

¹²⁸ The Australian Christian (5 April 1944) 163.

¹²⁹ G. Stirling to J. Calvert, 27 September 2004 (privately held); J. Wright to J. Calvert, 20 September 2003 (privately held). Both Stirling and Wright are former College students with Pike.

¹³⁰ See interview Wal Pike, 26 January 2002 and chapter 2, page 24, footnote 71.

opportunity for friendship with his teachers, particularly Portus, who regarded Pike as ‘the most mature student I (he) had ever taught’.¹³¹

On the other hand the continued silence from the leadership of his former college so affected his attitude that it was one of the main influences that turned him away from the church.¹³² Despite comments expressing appreciation for Pike’s ministry at Glenelg, he favoured intellectual pulpit teaching rather than a popular preaching style. Nor did he fit the pattern of a pastor who constantly visited his people to satisfy expectations. His philosophy of life was changing through exposure to tertiary learning coupled with his cynicism about some church leaders. These disillusioning experiences built on both his and his family’s experiences in China.¹³³

Disenchantment continued and soon directed Pike away from church and ministry into an academic career. Pike, who had achieved credit results in five of his seven undergraduate subjects, obtained First Class Honours in History and Political Science and won the Tinline Scholarship in 1947, an achievement recognised by his denomination.¹³⁴ Unfortunately, there is no extant copy of his Honours thesis in the university archives, the Butlin Archives or the National Library, although his university record card suggests the Honours subject as, ‘Theory and Practice of Government’.¹³⁵ The Tinline Scholarship was awarded for the highest ranked candidate in the final examination for Bachelor of Arts honours in the School of History and Political Science. The winner was then to undertake a Master’s thesis, with Faculty approving the subject, in the same discipline.¹³⁶

¹³¹ G. V. Portus, *Happy Highways* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1953) 281: fellow student H. Jones to J. Calvert, 1 October 2002 (privately held).

¹³² H. Stretton - J. Calvert interview, 18 March 1999 (privately held); G. Chapman - J. Calvert interview, 24 April 2004, Churches of Christ Pastor and historian (privately held).

¹³³ *The Australian Christian* (13 October 1943) 487 & (7 March 1945) 115; G. Stirling to J. Calvert, 27 September 2004 (privately held); J. Wright to J. Calvert, 20 September 2003 (privately held).

¹³⁴ Calendar of the University of Adelaide, 1948, 292 & 421; *Fellowship News* (December 1947) 7, a South Australian monthly denominational paper published by the Churches of Christ Evangelistic Union Inc. containing news items from various state churches.

¹³⁵ Student Card D. H. Pike, University of Adelaide, Register No. 8442.

¹³⁶ Calendar of The University of Adelaide, 1948, 142.

In conjunction with Pike's academic progress it is necessary to examine a series of events that occurred during this period, and initiated a process of change in his life. Although such happenings were outside the province of university life, they were influential in his, as yet, unknown university future. This investigation and a tying together of threads is essential in order to appreciate the extent and variety of events that were to affect Pike's future in this 1948 post-war period.

For example, the same time Pike was completing his history studies, unexpected and separate matters jointly contributed to end his ministry. In March 1948 church discussions at Glenelg, with 'some difference of opinion', stretched over a period of weeks regarding the direction of mid-week church meeting activities. Pike spoke at these gatherings although there is no record of his input. However the 'Board of Offices gave final consideration to the general feeling at a special meeting'.¹³⁷ Their decision 'to commence activities with group meetings' is vague as to what was behind the scenes, and there is no clue as to any agenda by this group of lay leaders. What is clear though is that to include such events in a denominational newspaper suggested that church politics were active and Pike was facing disgruntled parishioners.¹³⁸

Added to this apparent disturbance was an emotional incident that coincided with Pike's resignation from the Glenelg church and from the Churches of Christ ministry. His mother, Louisa, had been prevented from leaving China to attend her son's wedding to Olive Hagger because of the war. Background information reveals that following the declaration of peace she had retired from the mission to live with her sister in Victoria. In either late 1945 or early the following year, Louisa came to stay with her son and his family and speak at their church.¹³⁹ Since she and her late husband had accompanied Pike and his sister Allison to

¹³⁷ A 'Board of Officers' in the Churches of Christ is an elected group of lay leaders (at that time, male) with considerable leadership influence in the local congregation.

¹³⁸ *Fellowship News* (March 1948) 22.

¹³⁹ *Fellowship News* (February 1946) 20.

Melbourne in 1924, she had only seen her eldest son on one unhappy visit accompanied by Pike's youngest brother Alf in the Cassilis area during 1934.¹⁴⁰ In the twenty-two years since Pike left China his youngest sister Faith had died and his father was murdered. Between that occasion and 1946 Pike had married and fathered two children, again without his mother's presence. The intervention of the war had prevented travel but this circumstance did not seem paramount in Pike's thinking. There are no family remembrances of that visit to Glenelg but there are recollections when Louisa Pike visited two years later to stay with her son and his family. She again visited the Glenelg church and spoke of her forty years missionary work in China. Pike's two sons, Douglas Jr. (called Douglas the third by some family members) and Andrew were very young but were now old enough to remember their grandmother's visit to the home.¹⁴¹ On one memorable occasion they were dismissed to the back yard while a fearful row erupted within the house between their father and grandmother. One significant ingredient in this disturbance was that for many years Pike remained 'bitter about Faith being left in China to die'.¹⁴²

A modern commentary on this situation was related to me in the last few years by Andrew Pike, the future historian Douglas Pike's younger son. Andrew and his wife Merrilyn visited the area in China during 2002 where his grandparents (Douglas Snr and Louisa) had worked as missionaries. They talked with people there who remembered the older Pikes with fondness. During an emotionally intense trip to an area that provoked vague accounts of family background, Andrew was struck by the contrasts between his father's rebellious attitude and his grandparent's love of mission work. He referred to 'interesting paradoxes'. Granny Pike (Louisa) was definitely remembered in Guizhou Province as some sort of legendary "good Mother" – quite unlike the memories that at least two of her sons had of her.

¹⁴⁰ Alf Pike - J. Calvert interview, 21 June 2002 (privately held).

¹⁴¹ Douglas aged five and Andrew aged two-and-a-half.

¹⁴² Douglas Pike Jr. to J. Calvert, 5 May 2003 (privately held).

To varying degrees they saw her as a “Bad Mother”. Dad and Uncle Alf, Andrew says, ‘both attribute to her some responsibility for the death of Faith, their sister’.¹⁴³ The other brother, Wal Pike, (who had returned to China as a missionary pharmacist), has not expressed the same emotion although he and Alf were the only family members at their little sister’s funeral.¹⁴⁴

Returning to 1948, it is ironic that the same paper that recorded his mother’s missionary talk noted Pike’s conclusion as Pastor at Glenelg. ‘Following his resignation, Pastor D. Pike will terminate his engagement at the end of August’.¹⁴⁵ Pike’s only recorded return visit to Glenelg was six weeks later when he spoke, by prior arrangement, at the evening Sunday school anniversary service on 17 October.¹⁴⁶ This suggests that Pike had not completely closed the door on the church but there is no observation that he ever again preached or regularly attended church.¹⁴⁷

The accumulation of such memories coupled with Pike’s tendency to internalise past events, suggest an emotional turmoil, triggered by his mother’s visit, growing frustration with church politics and closed door to theological teaching. The opening of a contrasting path in academic history beckoned, with exciting possibilities. Regarded as a good preacher and generally well liked in the church, particularly by young people, Pike was opposed by an ultraconservative minority who regarded him as insufficiently evangelical.

His theology of faith became more personal. At the same time his university studies were leading him towards an understanding of life that excluded the concept of a God that he believed was limited in the theological thinking of the time. Pike acknowledged that the

¹⁴³ Andrew Pike – J. Calvert interview, 21 October 2002 (privately held): Mrs. Louisa Pike died in Melbourne 15 December 1954, see, *The Millions* (1 February 1955) 6.

¹⁴⁴ Wal Pike – J. Calvert interview, 26 January 2002 (privately held).

¹⁴⁵ *Fellowship News*, (August 1948) 22: *The Australian Christian* (3 August 1948) 356.

¹⁴⁶ *The Australian Christian* (2 November 1948) 512.

¹⁴⁷ Wal Pike - J. Calvert interview, 26 January 2002 (privately held).

scriptures contained much wisdom but came to discount ‘the idea of an entity called God, who could be experienced’.¹⁴⁸ It was previously noted that the church had agreed with his pursuit of university qualifications but some believed he used the church for his own benefit. The years of tertiary study, the need to obtain extra pastoral assistance in a numerically large church, his perceived self-assurance and controversial ideas, illustrated by his apparent unwillingness to discipline his children, added to a ground swell of discontent.¹⁴⁹

On the other hand, youth related well to Pike. Former South Australian state cricketer and well known actor Ron Hadrick was a teenager during the period of Pike’s Glenelg ministry. Hadrick and his sister Kathleen, whose wedding Pike performed, recollect the youth viewpoint. ‘He was a forward thinker and the young people thought him great ... he was ahead of his time.’ Many young people called him ‘Uncle Doug and had a great rapport with him.’¹⁵⁰ Further information on Pike leaving the ministry and commencing university teaching is revealed in a letter written by Pike’s younger son, Andrew. After his father’s death in 1974, Andrew Pike wrote to Professor John La Nauze, of the Australian National University (ANU), and quoted his mother Olive, who was still alive. ‘Mother says that the churches were conservative and suspicious of his (Douglas’) desire to pursue academic studies’. Andrew Pike adds that the day after his father’s resignation from the church he was offered a part-time lecturing position in the Department of History and Political Science at the University of Adelaide.¹⁵¹

This Adelaide position initially covered a brief period for Pike applied for a position as Lecturer at the University of Western Australia. The advertised position gave the salary range as 525/675 pounds plus cost of living (COL), at present 45 pounds. Preference was given to

¹⁴⁸ G. Stirling to J. Calvert, 27 September 2004 (privately held): Alf Pike - J. Calvert interview, 21 June 2002 (privately held).

¹⁴⁹ A. Bawden, R. Beaumont, N. Doe – J. Calvert interviews, 31 April 2003 (privately held).

¹⁵⁰ Kathleen Kitto (formerly Hadrick) – J. Calvert interview, 31 April 2003 (privately held): Ron Hadrick to J. Calvert, 5 May 2003 (privately held).

¹⁵¹ Andrew Pike to Professor J. La Nauze, 20 September 1974, Q31/ADB.

an applicant competent to conduct both lectures and tutorials in Australian History and/or Pacific Affairs. Pike's application was written from his Glenelg church home address and included testimonials from Professor McKellar Stewart and Principal Kiek of Parkin Congregational College in Adelaide.¹⁵² Pike added that Portus would write directly to the electors and cited Adelaide's Vice-Chancellor, McKellar Stewart, regarding a previous application for position as Principal of the Fairbridge Farm School in Western Australia.¹⁵³ He had looked in broader areas than history to support his family.¹⁵⁴ During the previous year an undated letter from Portus to Professor Fred Alexander at the University of Western Australia showed initial response to correspondence from Alexander, ascertaining if Portus could recommend a history lecturer to fit an upcoming two-year vacancy. Portus suggested Pike as the answer on the basis that Pike was filling in most capably in Adelaide for Wilfrid Oldham, who had suffered a heart attack. Portus advised that Pike would apply for the Perth position and that he had informed Pike that he (Portus) 'shall write direct to the powers that be – as is my habit with testimonials'. Portus was clearly endorsing Pike's move to the west to fill the two year position in 1949 and 1950, and recommended that Pike could teach Australian history, emphasising Constitutional and Economic aspects. Portus described the applicant as a first class scholar, mature, a hard worker and significantly, as: 'a parson who has found the doctrinal way too straight and wants to get into teaching'.¹⁵⁵ What was the significance of that last sentence unless Portus had a similar philosophy? It seems clear that Portus and Pike had discussed church ministry and theology for this last comment links with an unexplained sentence in Pike's application: 'I find I am unable to continue in ministerial

¹⁵² McKellar Stewart was Vice-Chancellor at Adelaide from 1945-1948: London born E. S. Kiek was trained at Oxford.

¹⁵³ Founded by Kingsley Fairbridge in 1909 at the University of Oxford and established in Pinjarra, Western Australia in 1912 to provide farm life for needy children: <http://www.fairbridge.asn.au>.

¹⁵⁴ Pike to The Registrar, University of Western Australia, 25 September 1948: from J. McDermott, Assistant Archivist, University of Western Australia, 3 & 13 September 2002, to J. Calvert (privately held).

¹⁵⁵ Professor G. Portus to Professor F. Alexander, nd, believed 1947, Q31/ADB.

work and am therefore seeking an academic post'.¹⁵⁶ We have earlier noted some of the reasons why Pike did not remain in the ministry, but his expression 'unable to continue' suggests deeper issues that had not become public. However, Pike never displayed vehemence towards the church or academic colleagues. His quiet demeanour ran deep and was not publicised.

There are significant church-type connections between these two men which I believe both influenced and encouraged Pike's move from an apparent Christian belief to a morally respectable but non-religious humanism. There is no ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Churches of Christ and Pike was not a local, so to whom did he turn during the troubles that brewed at his Glenelg church?

There are no documented answers but his background, age and achievements as a university student, while still in the ministry, forged links with Portus. These connections are significant in understanding the path that lay ahead, for Portus had also turned from the church into academia. Some understanding of Portus' own path in the ministry is helpful in appreciating his probable influence on Pike. Portus had studied theology and was made an Anglican deacon in 1910. He was a curate at Merriwa, the same area in which Pike lived during the next decade. Portus records that after 'three barren and useless years' as an assistant military censor in Sydney during the war his 'theological difficulties intensified: he doubted the doctrine of personal immortality, the efficacy of prayer, the virgin birth, the atonement and original sin'. He later wrote: 'I could not go back into the work of the official Christian ministry...' Commencing tutorial work at the University of Sydney, he stated: '... I regarded it as something in the nature of a call ... Here was work which did not ask for adherence to any set of doctrines except the belief that Adult Education was of supreme

¹⁵⁶ Pike to The Registrar, University of Western Australia, 25 September 1948: from J. McDermott, Assistant Archivist, University of Western Australia, 3 & 13 September 2002, to J. Calvert (privately held).

importance to the Australian community. And of that I was convinced'.¹⁵⁷ To what extent Portus and Pike communicated with each other about theology, church politics and related matters is unknown, but Pike's new pathway into academic life parallels the direction taken by Portus.

The week Pike's appointment to Perth was announced he submitted, with the approval of Portus, his Master of Arts thesis subject for the Tinline Scholarship: 'The Development of the South Australian Constitution from the granting of Responsible Government'. Approval was granted two weeks later.¹⁵⁸ The change of occupation was rapid, for the period from September 1948 to the end of that year meant packing and leaving the church manse, followed by a mind-shift to part-time history tutoring at the University of Adelaide, plus undertaking duties of the Senior Lecturer, Wilfrid Oldham, who was absent on sick leave.¹⁵⁹ Pike's short tenure at the University of Adelaide was followed by another family move across the Nullarbor for Perth. The University of Western Australia needed a lecturer to assist in their history department while their Head of Department, Professor Fred Alexander was overseas on study leave for eighteen months.¹⁶⁰ The departmental staffing during this period was depleted with permanent members in 1949 consisting of Professor Fred Alexander, Mr. J. H. Reynolds (part-time) and Mr. J. D. Legge (on leave). Pike, with minimal experience, had responsibility in lecturing and supervising final honours and MA students. Pike's original appointment commenced in January 1949 and was planned for two years, but lasted a total of eighteen months for unforeseen difficulties were arising in Adelaide that would hasten his return in September 1950.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ W. G. K. Duncan, 'Portus, Garnet Vere (Jerry)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. II, 1891-1939, Ne-Smi, gen. ed. G. Serle (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1988) 262-263.

¹⁵⁸ D. H. Pike to V. A. Edgeloe, 8 April 1948 and Edgeloe to Pike, 24 April 1948, AUA: D. 189/48.

¹⁵⁹ G. Portus to F. Alexander, *Pike's story*, Q31/ADB 71 (written by Pike, 1962).

¹⁶⁰ Butlin Archives, Q31/ADB 71.

¹⁶¹ 'Pike's story', Q31/ADB 71: B. De Garis, 'The Department of History in the University of Western Australia, 1913-65,' in *Studies in Western Australian History*, No. 6, (June 1988) 15 & 16.

The Pikes settled into their new home in the Perth suburb of Subiaco and Pike commenced a range of duties which included lectures and tutorials in Oriental and Pacific Studies plus Australian history. Added to this was responsibility for superintending research work by honours and post-graduate students.¹⁶² Unfortunately the University of Western Australia calendar for 1949 does not record lecturers' names against unit descriptions, but considering his proposed work load Pike would have researched and taught in areas that were new to him. His years of schooling in China no doubt gave him personal insight into the Asian situation although neither Oriental nor Pacific history was in the school curriculum. The total units from the 1949 Calendar are:

History I: Division I – The Medieval Background and the Tudor Nation State.

Division II – The English State in the 17th Century.

History IIA: An Introduction to the Political, Constitutional and Social Development of Australia.

History IIB: British Colonial Policy

Division I – The Evolution of Dominion Self-Government and Resultant Problems of Interimperial Relations.

Division II – Principles and Problems of British Colonial Administration in Non-Self Governing Territories.

History IIC: Division I – Comparative Study of Constitutions.

Division II – An Historical Analysis of the Charter of the United Nations.

History IID: Pacific Affairs.

History III: Division I – The Balance of Power and the French Revolution.

Division II – Democracy and Formative Nationalism.

History III: Aggressive Nationalism and Democracy.¹⁶³

¹⁶² The Pikes lived at 14 Heytesbury Road, Subiaco: Pike to The Registrar, University of Adelaide, 17 December 1949, AUA: D. 189/48.

¹⁶³ J. McDermott to J. Calvert 24 September 2002 (privately held).

The only extant document of Pike's teaching in Perth was discovered in his papers lodged in Canberra. Its form implies a tutorial or seminar paper in Australian history, based on the events of the Victorian goldfields entitled, 'The Gold Discoveries: History IIA: Synopsis No. 10'.¹⁶⁴ The paper contains nine paragraphs of questions and statements, eight primary and eleven secondary bibliographic references. (See Appendix: 3.1, History WA)

In addition to the above responsibilities, Pike was working on his Master's thesis. In January 1950 he visited Adelaide to work in the University Archives, and discussed his progress with Portus, who recommended that the university make a payment of thirty pounds to assist him. Pike, fully supported by Portus, also requested an alteration in his thesis subject to: 'An examination of the Social, Political, and Religious Outlook in South Australia up to 1875', which request was approved by the Faculty of Arts in February.¹⁶⁵

A clear recollection of Pike during his short time at the University of Western Australia was written by Professor Fred Alexander, his head of department. Alexander wrote to John La Nauze after Pike's death in 1974 to assist La Nauze with material for Pike's obituary.¹⁶⁶ Alexander's assessment of Pike is a bridge between family opinions and those of his colleagues in later years. He wrote these words twenty-five years after Pike had left Perth and refreshed his memory from Pike's file in the university archives:

'I could not neglect the Chinese missionary background of Pike's boyhood. I think this conditioned both his broad sympathy in the underdog and perhaps also his quiet manner yet strong convictions on certain issues which made him stand out – against the church that employed him later in South Australia ...'. Alexander added references which he presumably heard second-hand about Pike: 'somewhat emotional resistance ... and degree of strain' to

¹⁶⁴ NLA 6869 Folder 56.

¹⁶⁵ G. Portus to University Registrar, 5 January 1950:D. Pike to University Registrar, 5 January 1950, AUA, D. 189/48; Assistant Registrar to Pike, 15 February 1950, AUA, D. 189/48.

¹⁶⁶ J. A. La Nauze was professor of history at ANU from 1966-1976.

events a few years later when he was Reader at Adelaide, and further problems later in Hobart at the University of Tasmania from people both inside and outside his department. Alexander regarded these in stark contrast to ‘the quiet humility’ of earlier years.¹⁶⁷ So while it is clear that there developed a quiet but determined ambition about Pike’s academic pursuits that dwelt beneath the surface of his demeanour, and only occasionally surfaced, it is also clear that Pike kept his counsel despite personal inner concern.

Pike had matured in a varied life, was in his forties and took the opportunity to head west for the experience that Adelaide, at that time, could not offer. More than that, he anticipated completing his two-year agreement in Perth, for there is no documentary evidence to suggest he intended to shorten his time in Perth. Even allowing for the possible assistance of a typist, personal and family life was hectic, and could not be sustained indefinitely. The few months in Adelaide after leaving the ministry meant leaving the church manse and obtaining a home. There soon followed the long trip to Perth, unpacking and another home to establish, new and numerous teaching responsibilities, two young children and new schools. But unknown at that time the Pikes would return to Adelaide within eighteen months, establish another home and arrange school for their sons. The alterations and completion of Pike’s Master’s thesis and a new university career pointed to a health crisis a few years later.

In May 1948, a few months prior to Pike joining its history department, the University of Adelaide appointed A. P. Rowe as its first full-time vice-chancellor.¹⁶⁸ Around this time, staff vacancies in the department of history and politics were advertised by the University of Adelaide, one a lecturing position, the other a Readership in the department. Hugh Stretton, who became head of the department in 1954, understands that Rowe, for some unknown

¹⁶⁷ F. Alexander to J. A. La Nauze, 9 August 1974, Q31/ADB.

¹⁶⁸ A. P. Rowe, *If the Gown Fits*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1960) 1: H. Stretton, ‘Albert Percival Rowe’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 16: 1940-1980, Pik-Z*, gen. eds. J. Ritchie & D. Langmore (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2002) 136-137; W. G. K. Duncan & R. A. Leonard, *The University of Adelaide 1874-1974* (Adelaide, Rigby Ltd., 1973) 81.

reason, upgraded a proposed history tutorship to the position of Reader. Pike planned to apply for the former but Portus insisted he seek the position of Reader.¹⁶⁹

The position of Reader in History and Political Science was advertised in the Adelaide Advertiser on 12 November 1949. The salary scale was 1,050 pounds rising to 1,200 pounds by annual increments of 25 pounds, plus University Superannuation. Pike applied for the position in December and attached a photograph and medical certificate.¹⁷⁰ Also included was a copy of a testimonial written by Professor McKellar Stewart, Adelaide's Hughes Professor of Philosophy, when Pike applied for the position in Western Australia, with the commendation: 'His unassuming manner and pleasing character would make him an agreeable colleague, and his grasp of his subject combined with a quiet enthusiasm, would infect his students'.¹⁷¹ Such character description, despite occasional other variants, is the overwhelming summation of Douglas Pike.

Before Pike officially applied to return to Adelaide, three letters came from the University of Western Australia to Adelaide. Fred Alexander wrote to A. P. Rowe on the eve of Alexander travelling overseas for more than a year, a period in which Pike was expected to fill a gap in the Western Australian history department. Alexander had met Rowe on previous occasions but not since the latter had become vice-chancellor. His letter was a mixture of both formal and personal expression, containing warm and pointed statements. Alexander naturally expressed his unhappiness at losing Pike from his department, but highly commended Pike's quality of character and mind and his ability to work with others in the department. He also highlighted Pike's non-academic experience which enabled him to exhibit influence as a wise

¹⁶⁹ H. Stretton to J. La Nauze, nd, probably 1974, Q31/ADB 59; Alexander to La Nauze, 9 August 1974, Q31/ADB 59.

¹⁷⁰ D. Pike to The Registrar, University of Adelaide, 17 December 1949: Medical certificate from Dr. Eric Smith, 5 December 1949, AUA, D, 189/71.

¹⁷¹ J. M. Stewart, unaddressed, nd, AUA, D, 189/71.

counsellor to his students.¹⁷² These traits no doubt emanated from his country and ministry years, despite whatever frustration and attempts to bury the past Pike had experienced.

Alexander then introduced a brief but pointed suggestion regarding Pike's future, followed by a long paragraph concerning history both in Adelaide and the broader Australian university scene. Firstly, Alexander's experience pointed him to the conclusion that Pike would return to Adelaide, and here he made two strong recommendations, both in the same sentence, perhaps for emphasis. One was that Pike's position be made permanent. This point suggests that such tenure would at least stabilise both Pike's and the Adelaide scene. Alexander's second recommendation was that Pike needed to go overseas for some years additional academic work as his studies had been influenced chiefly by one man, Portus.¹⁷³ This would occur some years later and while for academic research, it was directed towards his major project on South Australian history, not for exposure to academic work covering a period of years.

Alexander's second emphasis, in the context of warmly commending Pike to the University of Adelaide, was to acquaint Rowe regarding his earlier correspondence with both Portus and Pike. The appointment of Douglas Pike to Western Australia was for two years, particularly because Alexander was to be overseas in the second year, 1950. The only other full-time member for that year in Western Australia was a returning Rhodes Scholar. Alexander's position was most difficult for as Professor of History he was responsible for adequate teaching arrangements, and naturally thought that existing arrangements were satisfactory.

While he would not stand in the way of Pike's academic advancement, he hoped that the University of Adelaide 'would consider its obligations towards the University of Western

¹⁷² F. Alexander to A. P. Rowe, 19 November 1949, Q31/ADB.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

Australia and defer the commencement of duty'.¹⁷⁴ That did not happen and Pike was soon to return to Adelaide as Reader in History and Political Science.

The context in which Alexander wrote the above comments regarding Pike's academic advancement linked with his broader concern of 'History teaching throughout the Commonwealth'. Alexander did not minimise the co-operation he had received from the University of Melbourne, nor from Portus. But he apparently regarded the universities as mainly looking after their own affairs and wrote, 'we should all pull together as far as possible'. He no doubt hoped that Rowe, as vice-chancellor, would take up his concern at vice-chancellor's level of 'too little collaboration between the History Departments of the several Australian Universities'.¹⁷⁵ Whatever action, if any, Rowe instigated is outside the bounds of my thesis. There is no doubt that Alexander was frustrated at what appears to be ethical back-tracking by Portus and Pike. Adelaide needed for staff and if Pike had not returned from the West when he did, other lecturers would have been obtained. The question is, from where? Pike's advantage was that he was well known to Portus and Wilfrid Oldham, who was ill when Pike previously took his place in the department. By the time Pike returned to Adelaide, Oldham had recovered sufficiently to continue teaching until his retirement in 1956.¹⁷⁶

The same package of archival records included a connecting letter from Professor G. A. Currie, Vice-Chancellor of Western Australia's University, containing a paragraph that reveals the esteem in which Pike was held.

Pike has a very good mind and is a sound, attractive member of the staff.

His wife too takes her place very well in the university community. I am

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ W. Prest, 'Oldham, Wilfrid', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 15: 1940-1980, Kem-Pie*, gen. ed. John Ritchie (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2000) 531.

very fond of both of them. As Alexander says, Pike has rather a quiet disposition, which is inclined to make a poor first impression on people who are looking for a sparkling personality. Pike's whole record, however, both here and elsewhere, points to his capacity for developing a great respect in the people with whom he is working, so that I would have no hesitation in recommending him for any position for which his educational background fits him.¹⁷⁷

Currie's letter reveals both a personal and an official regard for a man whom he knew and observed for a comparatively short time. His reference to Olive Pike shows her close support for her husband, despite the care of two young children. His summation of Pike's personality resembles others who knew him in Western Australia and expressed similar views.¹⁷⁸ The third letter from R. G. Cameron, Dean of Education and Chairman of the Professorial Board to Adelaide's Vice-Chancellor, included commendation of Pike's lecturing ability, pleasing personality, extreme tactfulness and popularity.¹⁷⁹

Pike's application was successful and the Council wanted him to commence work on 1 September that year. The urgency in the Council's request was due to temporary help not being available to Portus after second term.¹⁸⁰ Whether there were other applicants for the position cannot be determined but Pike's acceptance letter was sent within two weeks. He took opportunity to mention difficulty regarding his release from the university, a situation which was to develop in a series of letters between the two establishments.¹⁸¹ One can assume that unofficial communication between Portus and Pike had occurred during this period, but

¹⁷⁷ G. A. Currie to A. P. Rowe, 23 November 1949, AUA. D, 189/48.

¹⁷⁸ W. Birman to J. Calvert, 30 October 2002 (privately held); G. Bolton to J. Calvert, 11 May 2002 (privately held).

¹⁷⁹ R. G. Cameron to Vice-Chancellor, University of Adelaide, 12 December 1949, AUA D, 189/48.

¹⁸⁰ A. W. Bampton to Pike, 3 May 1950, AUA. D, 189/48.

¹⁸¹ Acting Registrar to Pike, 22 December 1949, AUA D, 189/48; D. Pike to A. W. Bampton, 16 May 1950, AUA D, 189/48.

Pike and his family could not make public moves to leave Perth until his new position was official. With only four months to be relieved of his duties in Western Australia and return to Adelaide, with Alexander on study leave and that department short of competent staff, the pressure to move half-way across the continent and re-settle must have been exhausting.

Concern at Pike's proposed hurried departure from the West Australian history department was expressed in a personal letter from J. H. Reynolds to Portus. An expression of delight at Pike's new appointment was followed by 'the bitter pill', a plea for Pike to remain in Perth for third term. This request emphasised three areas. Firstly, the major portion of their own staff was overseas for the remainder of the year and the serious difficulty created if Pike also departed. Secondly, Pike was performing most of the tasks of Department Head for Honours students and all students in general, head examiner in public examinations and lecturing, with no competent replacement to fill his position. Thirdly, Reynolds expressed disappointment that despite his requests to Alexander and the Vice-Chancellor that Pike be made Head of Department, this did not eventuate. Reynolds' point was that although he, himself, was Head in an honorary capacity, Pike was carrying out the work. Pike was not paid for his extra responsibilities and Reynolds added that if Pike did remain for the third term 'the Vice-Chancellor is going to move for him to be paid the difference between his Perth and Adelaide salary'.¹⁸²

The letter shows that Pike was well liked and highly regarded and that both universities wanted his services. Portus and Oldham were approaching the end of their university tasks due to age and health, and the next Head of the History Department in Adelaide would be considered within a few years.¹⁸³ Returning to Adelaide as Reader could place Pike in a line of succession for Head of Department. But as we shall see that position

¹⁸² J. H. Reynolds to G. Portus, 15 May 1950. Reynolds was also Warden of St. George's College, Crawley.

¹⁸³ Portus died suddenly four years later and was succeeded by W. G. K. Duncan: see G. Walsh, *Australia: History & Historians* (Canberra, ADF, University of NSW, second edition, 1997) 122.

did not eventuate. Whether Pike assumed that a few short years as Reader would automatically lead to his appointment as Head is not certain. Hugh Stretton was to be appointed in 1954 and remain in the position until Pike had left Adelaide. Then there are questions that arise from Reynolds's letter relating to Pike's work load in Perth. He embraced extra responsibilities in the department without additional pay, either willingly or because they would have been neglected. Or was he too conscientious? Entering academia in his forties and seemingly finding his niche in life after following other paths suggests an inner drive to make up for lost time and an ambition to achieve status at the highest level of work and position.

Portus replied to Reynolds in what he called, 'a rotten letter to write', and explained his own department's staff position, namely Oldham who had collapsed eighteen months before and was still not well, and Kath Woodroffe who was gaining higher qualifications at the London School of Economics. Another lecturer, Tregonning, was also due to leave for England. Portus was conscious of his age, turning sixty-seven, 'desperately tired', and looking forward to handing his position over to Duncan in 1951. Because Pike had agreed to return to Adelaide, Portus made clear his position that further delay would not be considered. His strongly worded paragraph deserves stating in full:

I'm sorry I can't agree to wait for Pike longer than 1st September. We have, in fact, delayed bringing him here for the first two terms of 1950 and he must come now. It isn't a question of his loyalty to me at all it's a matter of getting the third term work of the department done. And I can't see how it can be done unless he comes to us in September.¹⁸⁴

Portus no doubt thought that his clear statement would close the door to further debate. However, correspondence between the two men continued with another response from

¹⁸⁴ G. Portus to J. H. Reynolds, 18 May 1950, Q31/ADB 59.

Reynolds a few days later, declaring that his position was worse than Portus', and adding that Western Australia's Vice-Chancellor had written to Adelaide's Mark Mitchell requesting him to permit Pike to remain in the west until the year ended. (Mitchell's reply is mentioned below.)¹⁸⁵ Reynolds again emphasised that with Alexander overseas and lecturer John Legge at Oxford, departmental planning was based on Pike being available for the full year. He repeated some of his arguments detailing Pike's various tasks from the previous letter, adding, 'there is nobody else whom I know of in Western Australia, who can do these three jobs'.

Reynolds was pleading for the continuation of the original agreement, an extension of Pike's services now he would be leaving early. A note of Portus' reply is written in pen at the conclusion of Reynold's letter, 'Answered by hand repeating substance of letter of 18/5/50 and saying we cant (sic) do without Pike. He must come by third term. GP 30/5/50'.

Both university history departments needed more staff and there was a shortage of suitable lecturers in this post-war period. But if Oldham collapsed in 1948, and other lecturers were heading overseas to gain qualifications, and Portus was feeling his age, why did Portus agree to Pike heading west for two years and insist he return before that period? Could not Alexander have obtained suitable lecturers from the Universities of Melbourne or Sydney? This last suggestion, to 'explore the field in Melbourne', was made by Portus in his handwritten letter to Reynolds and picked up in Mitchell's reply to Professor Currie, with the thought that the forthcoming Vice-Chancellor's Conference could provide a discussion forum.¹⁸⁶ There is no evidence as to Pike's feelings during this period, nor that of his family. We presume that the pressure of again packing their goods would have been tinged with euphoria in returning to such a significant position in Adelaide.

¹⁸⁵ Later knighted and a son of former Chancellor Sir William Mitchell.

¹⁸⁶ Acting Vice-Chancellor to Currie, 30 May 1950, AUA D, 189/48.

It is my contention that Pike, with an Honours Degree but no publications and little academic experience, could not have been regarded as qualified or suitable for a University Readership without interstate experience and the influence and status of Portus who undoubtedly backed him all the way. Pike was yet to obtain his Masters Degree and his first publication was not until late 1952.¹⁸⁷ That he was held in high regard both personally and for his developing competence is not in dispute. His lecturing and marking ability was honed during the hectic period in Perth and it is my contention that those responsibilities stretched and trained him far quicker than remaining in Adelaide.

One student from those Perth days was the historian Geoffrey Bolton, who remembers Pike as ‘a good-tempered, gently amused and amusing tutor’.¹⁸⁸ A contrasting opinion was given by Adelaide’s professor of economics, Peter Karmel, who first met Pike on his return to Adelaide. Karmel remembered Pike as dogmatic and aggressive. ‘It would never occur to him that he might be wrong. I think that was because he had come into the academic world late and had to establish himself. He had to make a mark for himself which he did’.¹⁸⁹ Karmel couched these memories, from over fifty years in the past, in the broader context of Douglas Pike aged in his forties, and not having much time left, for sixty-five was the official retirement age. Karmel acknowledges that Pike ‘did very well,’ with such a late beginning but agrees with historian Geoffrey Blainey, that Pike’s ambition to ‘catch up’ meant he was a ‘driven’ man.¹⁹⁰

The Pike family planned to arrive in Adelaide by train from Perth about 20 August 1950 and rent a furnished university house, soon to be vacated by Peter and Lena Karmel,

¹⁸⁷ See, D. Pike, ‘John Slater’s Letter’, in *Royal Geographical Society of Australia, SA Branch*, Vol. 53, December (1952) 53-64; D. Pike, ‘The Utopian Dreams of Adelaide’s Founders’, in *Royal Geographical Society of Australia, SA Branch*, Vol. 53, December (1952) 65-77.

¹⁸⁸ G. Bolton to J. Calvert, 11 May 2002 (privately held).

¹⁸⁹ P. Karmel – J. Calvert, interview 15 March 2002 (privately held).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid: G. Blainey to J. Calvert, 10 April 2002 (privately held).

until the end of the year at four guineas a week.¹⁹¹ Pike's return to Adelaide included him in an increasing number of academic staff who commenced at the university from 1950 onwards under Vice-Chancellor, A. P. Rowe.¹⁹² The move also merged the Pike family into a period extending from 1940 to 1953 'of unparalleled growth and development' in South Australia. Under Premier Tom Playford, the population rose from 599,237 in 1940 (when Pike was a theological student in Melbourne) to 775,781 in 1953, through 'the impact of war-created industry, and then the post-war migration programme'.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ D. Pike to A. W. Bampton, 6 June 1950; Bampton to Pike, 6 July 1950, AUA, D, 189/48. The house, soon to be vacated by the Karmels, was at 81 Hewitt Ave, Rose Park (Toorak Gardens).

¹⁹² A. P. Rowe (1960) 45.

¹⁹³ S. Cockburn, *Playford: Benevolent Despot* (Adelaide, Axiom, 1991) 267: see also R. Linn, *Those Turbulent Years: a history of the City of Adelaide 1929-1979* (Adelaide, Adelaide City Council, 2006) 133-136, 144, 158-160.

CHAPTER 4: RETURN TO ADELAIDE

The story of the beginnings of South Australia has been often told with emphasis on the political struggle for civil liberty. The omission or under-consideration of the principle of religious liberty has, in my opinion, left an incomplete picture. In stressing the functions of morality and religion the present study swings to the other extreme and is intended to be complementary to existing histories. The two ideals are not properly separable, and any attempt to look at a single aspect of liberty by itself is to invite distortion.¹⁹⁴

Douglas Pike and family left Perth in August 1950, journeyed by train to Adelaide and settled into their rented home in Toorak Gardens, which had been previously occupied by Professor Peter Karmel and his wife Lena. Karmel had been appointed that same year to the Chair of Economics at Adelaide and remained in the position during Pike's tenure, which commenced 1 September.¹⁹⁵ The Karmels came to know the Pikes both formally and socially. Occasional conversations regarding past years revealed the Pike's varied background, and when Pike spoke of his experiences with the church, the impression voiced was one of disillusionment which had contributed to a dogmatic and assertive confidence that he could never be wrong. Olive, with a moneyed aunt in her family, was strong willed and fully supported any social or other advancement for her husband.¹⁹⁶ Such characteristics give weight to later opinions that describe Pike's frequent re-location in university positions, each one a promotion.¹⁹⁷ There is no suggestion that Pike was ruthless, but having now achieved a significant academic position

¹⁹⁴ D. Pike, 'The Social and Religious Background to the Foundation of South Australia: the creation of a sentiment of civil and religious liberty'. MA Thesis, University of Adelaide (presented for the Tinline Scholarship, 1950) v.

¹⁹⁵ Various letters between D. Pike and A. W. Brampton, the Registrar, University of Adelaide, May to August, 1950 (privately held); S. G. Foster & M. M. Varghese, *The Making of the Australian National University* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996) 307.

¹⁹⁶ P. & L. Karmel –J. Calvert interview, 15 March 2002 (privately held).

¹⁹⁷ See L. Green, p 100, footnote 331.

with no refereed publications and little academic qualifications, he was not one to take time out to enjoy his achievements. On the contrary, writing his Master's and later a doctoral thesis, plus the requirements of his position as Reader, coupled with two sons approaching teenage years made for heavy demands on his health, which was soon affected.¹⁹⁸

With Professor G. V. Portus due to retire that year (1950), Pike joined the small Department of History and Political Science as the third staff member.¹⁹⁹ Within two weeks of commencing at Adelaide, Pike sent a formal handwritten letter to Portus, seeking a further subject alteration in his Master's thesis.²⁰⁰ Pike surprisingly misquoted the previously agreed title as: 'Religion and Society in South Australia up to 1870'. He requested that the Faculty approve his subject change to: 'The Social and Religious Background of the Foundation of South Australia'. The key word variation was 'background' and the date was removed for research had altered Pike's focus to an earlier period before the arrival of the first colonists. Reasons for the request were justified and showed that Pike was projecting his research ambitions far beyond any idea in writing one post-graduate thesis as the boundary of his projected new career.²⁰¹

His findings included the collection of more resources than he anticipated, for he 'was impressed by the strength of the sentiment for religious and civil liberty that prevailed among the early settlers'. Research at the South Australian Archives had unearthed extensive material in manuscript diaries and correspondence that related to the years prior to settlement. He acknowledged previous research by Rudall and Price but commented that 'both have

¹⁹⁸ Pike suffered heart attacks during 1954 and was off work for three months, H. Stretton to O. C. Watson, University Press, Cambridge, 9 November 1954, NLA 6869, Box 11.

¹⁹⁹ W. Oldham was Senior Lecturer and G. P. Tregonning (acting) lecturer, *Calendar of The University of Adelaide for the year 1950*, Adelaide, 44: By the following year W. G. K. Duncan had succeeded Portus as Professor, Oldham remained senior lecturer and K. F. Sainsbury was lecturer, *Calendar of The University of Adelaide for the year 1951*, Adelaide, 48.

²⁰⁰ See Chapter 3, page 50, footnote 158 and Chapter 3, page 52, footnote 165.

²⁰¹ D. Pike to G. Portus, 12 September 1950: AUA, 189/48. The thesis title in the University of Adelaide Library replaces the word 'Background of' with 'Background to' and reads: 'The Social and Religious Background to the Foundation of South Australia: the creation of a sentiment of civil and religious liberty', 09X, T1 p 63 [Adelaide] 1950.

concentrated on the political aspects' concerning the foundation of South Australia.²⁰² Pike rightly believed that the religious and social aspirations of the founders were equally important. This emphasis was more significant in the founding of South Australia than apparent in other colonies. He claimed that his thesis on the pre 1836 period would use previously untapped sources and reinterpret material already published. There is no doubt that he regarded his Master's thesis as a springboard for further research 'into the relations of Religion and Society in South Australia', with a book as the eventual result.²⁰³

A month after the above request the Faculty of Arts agreed to Pike's subject amendment.²⁰⁴ In December, Pike was informed that his thesis had been accepted. The close proximity to his September letter reveals that his altered thesis focus must have been almost ready for submission before the granting of official permission. No doubt he had kept Portus informed for he and Oldham, from his history department, were the examiners. There is no recorded name of a thesis supervisor, so did Portus also fill that position? The records are silent. Pike's extended plans for research were noted by the examiners in their report which also took up Pike's reference, above, to previous writing, stating that 'the work may be regarded as complementary to that done by Grenfell Price and R. J. Rudall ...' adding that the thesis would 'be introductory to a larger work which he (Pike) hopes to publish'.²⁰⁵

Pike's double-spaced typewritten MA thesis contained four main chapters, plus an introduction and conclusion extending to 179 pages, many containing extensive quotes. With 374 end-note references and a bibliography of four close-typed single spaced pages, unfortunately not listed alphabetically, it demonstrates considerable and detailed inquiry. The

²⁰² D. Pike to G. Portus, 12 September 1950: AUA, 189/48: J. T. Stock, 'Reginald John Rudall', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, eds. John Ritchie and Diane Langmore, Vol. 16 1940-1980, Pik-Z (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2002) 148 & 149: C. Kerr, *Archie: The biography of Sir Archibald Grenfell Price* (Melbourne, Macmillan, 1983) 59.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Assistant Registrar to D. Pike, 16 October 1950: AUA, 189/48.

²⁰⁵ Examiners' Report, Professor G. V. Portus & Dr. W. Oldham, 3 December 1950: A. W. Bampton to D. Pike, 18 December 1950: AUA: 189/48: H. Bruce to J. Calvert, Adelaide University Reference Archives Officer, 6 September 2002, 1948/189 (privately held).

four chapter headings characterise Pike's distinctive phraseology: 'The Meaning of Religious Liberty in Britain in 1834: The Bill, the Whole Bill and Nothing but the Bill: If thine eye be single...: Selecting the Saints and sending them forth'. Quotations from the introduction, titled 'The Case is stated', are included below for his thesis is no formal, sterile academic requirement. The initial sentences set the historic period with a genre of captivating word-pictures:

The Province of South Australia came into being in the years when the British middle classes were stirred by parliamentary reform. For the radical reformers ... South Australia was not merely a revival of the dreams of empire, one more gem to shine in the Imperial crown. It was to be a totally new departure in colonisation. It was to be God's answer alike to the moral malaria of the convict settlements and to the social leprosy of aristocratic privilege in the older colonies as well as in the mother country.²⁰⁶

Pike depicts the struggle in early colonial years of opposing principles between church and state, 'The atmosphere of religious smugness in South Australia has been remarked upon by many observers'.²⁰⁷ But Pike did not close the curtain at that point and directed attention to the main focus of his work, an emphasis that was to return in his doctoral writing and future newspapers articles.

The purpose of this study however is not to examine the things most earnestly believed by present day South Australians, but rather to look at the principles of the pioneers and founders, the way in which those principles were instilled into the minds of all those interested in the

²⁰⁶ Pike 'Thesis' (1950) i.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, iii.

colony, and, finally, the methods by which it was thought that the ideals were being translated into concrete terms.²⁰⁸

This one-sentence paragraph, extracted from the eight page introduction, is a precise summation that Pike was delving not only into the background but within the religious and social attitudes and political movements that brought the non-convict colony to birth. His dissenting upbringing and training enabled his clear perspectives to be understood and expressed. Obvious in his dissertation is an appreciation of pre and post-colonial religious liberty in both Britain and South Australia, which illustrates not only a vast amount of inquiry, but the investigative ability and persistence of a man who had only lived in the state of South Australia for nine years. In that sense his pedigree was not one of the established pioneer families nor was his education in formative years coloured with prejudice from school history that may have developed a bias. Most of his period in Australia had been bush experience and the solitude and manual labour during more than a decade of country life masked a fertile mind waiting to be released in a discipline that he then knew nothing about. Following that rural education there was sincerity about his theological studies and years in the ministry but that was not his niche for life. He was endeavouring to discover his role in a country to which he belonged by family descent, and one in which he was seeking to find meaning and destiny. Unfortunately, Pike left no diary nor did he record his thoughts in letters or jottings, so we are unsure regarding his mind map at that time. What can be assumed is that Pike, when he entered the church scene in 1939, had no inkling of the contribution he was to make as an historian.

Doubtless, Pike's church training and growing knowledge of his adopted state of South Australia provided a perspective for the thesis and an understanding of the background to the commencement of the colony. Religious themes and a perception of various church

²⁰⁸ Ibid, v.

politics and establishment practices in England are constant in his presentation because they are integral in the moves to found South Australia. Pike's dissenting preference, however much in the recent past, enabled him to understand the struggle for religious liberty and to describe 'G. F. Angas (as) the father of religious freedom in South Australia'.²⁰⁹ Both Angas and E. G. Wakefield (who never visited Australia) feature prominently in the colonisation account. Pike's four-page conclusion mentions both men:

The purpose of this thesis has been to show that the effect of civil and religious frustrations on certain strong-minded men in England in the days of the Reform Parliament played a very considerable part in the establishment of the province of South Australia. The foundation was greatly influenced, to use the popular phrase, by the inferiority complexes of Angas, Wakefield and others.²¹⁰

This substantial piece of academic writing was an indication of future historiography, essentially in his doctoral thesis but also featured in journal articles. Additional brief biographical contributions were featured in his quirky newspaper articles in which a few years later he 'Lifted the Lid' on colonial personalities.

Pike's vocational path away from the church also distanced him from his family. Although his siblings were not openly opposed to his pursuit of study they did not share his change of vocation for they were all involved in church and missionary activity. Allison, the surviving elder sister, whose husband had influenced Pike towards the ministry, maintained some contact and held the family together but the three brothers went their separate ways. While there was no obvious animosity between the brothers there was only minimal contact for the rest of their lives, including non-attendance at their eventual funerals. The years of

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 85: *Historical Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 17 (November 1951) 85.

²¹⁰ Pike Thesis, 170.

ministry were ‘a step ladder to get over the wall for he made use of the church as a good staircase’. If such brotherly comment appears cynical it also illustrates that family relationships regarding Pike were frequently at odds. His two brothers regarded Douglas as argumentative, angry, unforgiving of his parents and resentful of his school days and of being a missionary child.²¹¹ These traits were seldom evident to most others with whom he worked and associated in later years. University colleagues remember him as talented and conscientious, but also shy and charming with a complicated and independent personality.²¹² These and previous comments show that Pike was not dissimilar to many other academics or fellow humans with the desire to attain the top of their profession. He also sought to make up for what he perceived as time lost prior to academic life, a characteristic evident in his fast-tracked post-graduate successes despite a full-time job and family. Any demanding profession brings out character traits which interact and react according to job and family demands and Pike was no exception. It is arguable that no blame should be attached to him, for as the oldest male sibling his chosen path in all post-China years was different to the work experience of his brothers and his missionary-involved sister and her husband.

The return to Adelaide, coupled with the organisation of a home and school for his sons plus completion of his Master’s thesis, also thrust Pike into lecturing where he taught East Asian, English Economic history and Australian history. Two students from those early Adelaide times recollect their association with Pike. Lindsay Cleland studied the theory of history and remembered Pike’s appreciation of Herbert Butterfield contrasted with his scorn towards Arnold Toynbee and his big theories. Pike taught his students to develop respect as practising historians towards the period under investigation and bring it to life.²¹³ A comprehensive record of Pike’s teaching in the early 1950s comes from Robert John

²¹¹ W. Pike - J. Calvert interview, 26 January 2002, (privately held).

²¹² G. Blainey to J. Calvert, 10 April 2002 (privately held); K. Inglis - J. Calvert interview, 8 January 2002 (privately held).

²¹³ L. Cleland - J. Calvert interview, 25 June 2002 (privately held).

Lawrence, a student who kept meticulous records from classes over fifty years ago.²¹⁴ In 1951 Economic History was taught in three sections with Pike presenting English Economic History ‘from Manor to Modern Socialistic Set-up’, then secondly, ‘Australia from the Set-up of Convict Settlement to the Present Day’. In the third area, Professor Kath Woodroffe taught ‘America from Settlement of Colonies till Now’.

In 1952, Lawrence and Cleland studied History III and remember the broad range of lectures, although students needed to take copious notes. Ron Gibbs makes similar comments, plus Pike’s cynical at times and dry but interesting delivery without discernible mannerisms.²¹⁵ Lawrence and Cleland participated in a tutorial group of four students (one woman) and Lawrence has provided, as an aid to my research, his list of typewritten tutorial questions containing bibliographies with separate questions for each student (see Appendix 4.1). Subjects included China, French Colonial Policy in Indo-China, Dutch Colonial Policy, British Colonial Policy, Indonesian Nationalism, USA Foreign Policy, Korea, the White Australia Policy, Australia and New Guinea, Pacific Pacts 1945-1952. Lawrence’s first term 8,000 word essay with a fourteen-part itemised reading list, including government correspondence, memoirs and books, was entitled: ‘The Partition of China from the Treaty of Shimonoseki to the Boxer Rebellion’.²¹⁶ Pike’s written comments on Lawrence’s essay reveal his own knowledge from years in China.

You have dealt with the domestic situation in China and the various foreign claims made upon her very capably. However, it is essential not to view China as one sphere of European interests isolated from the rest but as one of the many stakes in the game of Balance of Power politics. Some mention of the Triple and Dual alliances and of rivalry between Great

²¹⁴ Known as John: J. Lawrence to J. Calvert, 20 March 2004 (privately held).

²¹⁵ L. Cleland interview: R. Gibbs - J. Calvert interview, 5 April 2002 (privately held).

²¹⁶ Lawrence’s notes, to my knowledge these are the only extant records of Pike’s Adelaide teaching. L. Cleland (above) remembers the same Asian and Chinese history.

Powers in the Balkans would have clarified the motives of the various powers in China. Distinguish between freedom of investment and freedom of trade with regard to the Open Door Policy. Germany's desire to Equal England in naval strength, and the latter's action in face of a growing challenge to her power superiority in all fields are worthy of note. A commendable essay and clear style.²¹⁷

In 1953, Pike's first-term honours seminars covered various interpretations of history, with seven recommendations for reading on the subject, plus general and meta-history discussions.²¹⁸ Professor W. G. K. Duncan who had succeeded Portus as Chair of History and Political Science, dealt with political ideas in second term.²¹⁹ Pike's students were required to submit a 25,000 word honours thesis in third term. One other page of tutorial directions with the subject *The Alienation of Land to 1857*, has survived from History IIB in 1953.²²⁰ Pike's earlier life in China and the ministry was known to some students but he made no reference to his past in lectures, although his students thought that he 'was an interesting, different kind of person'. Pike's open-minded, wide ranging intellect impressed his students as he actively encouraged them to 'think for themselves'.²²¹

At this juncture it is important to examine another side of Douglas Pike and his family's life from outside academia. Following a year at the university-owned house at Toorak Gardens the Pikes acquired their own first home at Gepps Cross and met their near neighbours Bill and Joyce Gibberd and family.²²² Their friendship endured through the remainder of Doug and Olive Pike's lives and continues with their sons. What was significant

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid: authors were Butterfield, Popper, Toynbee, Carr, Crawford, Collingwood, Fraser.

²¹⁹ G. V. Portus (1953) 280.

²²⁰ NLA 6869, Box 9.

²²¹ Lawrence notes.

²²² B. & J. Gibberd - J. Calvert interview 1 March 2002 (privately held): the Pikes lived at 14 Leslie Avenue Gepps Cross.

about Pike in the early 1950s when he was a young father in his forties? He enjoyed watching cricket, supported North Adelaide in football, was interested but cynical about world affairs, and even then was driven in his work. The characteristic lean of his head to the right side and his pipe, his habit of telling jokes and stories without any meaning, stopping and waiting for laughter because that was expected.²²³ His elder son Douglas recollected, ‘Dad would kill himself the next day because they were laughing at nothing’. His witty humour delivered generally with a straight face.²²⁴ Olive Pike, older than her husband, possessed a sense of colour and was always beautifully dressed, a wonderful cook, excellent dressmaker and a perfectionist in the garden, but never drove a car because of a heart condition from the age of twenty-one. Their respective sons enjoyed numerous sporting occasions in the park and back yard. Some years later they moved to Glen Osmond, their last Adelaide home.²²⁵ Pike’s previous life in China, the country and ministry were seldom mentioned, even to his associates.²²⁶ But as will be seen, there was one pointed oral and later written exception.

In addition to teaching and despite obtaining his Master’s degree, Pike, as Reader in his department must have been under pressure to produce journal articles. While there is no documentary proof, and irrespective of how highly he was regarded, his position as Reader, achieved on the basis of an honours degree, would necessitate literary publication. Even obtaining his Masters, in his case a massive achievement, would not answer the need for publication. Fortunately his diligent investigation had amassed substantial material about early colonial history and the geographic setting of Australia in the Pacific region. Two years after re-commencing at Adelaide, Pike was one of six speakers at a lecture series entitled ‘Australia’s Place in World Affairs’, under the auspices of the Adelaide Junior Chamber of Commerce. His paper, at an unnamed venue, was given on 1 June 1952 but not published

²²³ Ibid: K. Inglis - J. Calvert interview 8 January 2002 (privately held)

²²⁴ B. Gibberd and Doug Pike - J. Calvert interview 1 March 2002 (privately held): H. Inkster - J. Calvert interview 8 February 2002 (privately held)

²²⁵ B. Gibberd & D. Pike interviews (2002).

²²⁶ T. Wilson - J. Calvert interview 22 March 2002: A. Shaw to J. Calvert 22 July 2002 (privately held).

until the following year.²²⁷ His opening words under the heading, 'Our Pacific Neighbours', set the scene for an informative presentation:

The facts of geography have declared that Australia is closely connected by a long chain of islands and narrow seas with the continent of Asia. The facts of man-made politics have declared Australia is a separate continent exclusively set apart for the white races. The geographic facts are hoary with age; the political facts are still in their swaddling clothes and barely a century old'.²²⁸

Pike's paper, although not referenced, mentions several countries within the orbit of his topic that had strong trade connections with Australia: the East Indies, China, India and Asia in general. In addition, Pike included in the text three auto-biographical comments and one altered Biblical verse, none of which to my knowledge are mentioned anywhere else in his writing. The first was an incident at the Melbourne GPO following his arrival from China in 1924 when he was required to open certificates 'packed in the hollow of a short length of bamboo ... after a great deal of argument I was allowed to take the certificates away but the length of bamboo was kept to be examined for opium'.²²⁹ He does not describe the certificates but we can assume they pertained to his years at Chefoo school. Second was one sentence mentioning that the last of his family had 'left Hongkong (sic) and arrived in Adelaide a week ago...'²³⁰ The third reference containing additional details to what was formerly known about his father's murder was the most significant, and is not contained in any family correspondence or missionary publication.²³¹ Pike uses half-a-page to introduce

²²⁷ D. Pike, 'Our Pacific Neighbours', in *Australia's Place in World Affairs*, 1 June 1952 (Adelaide Junior Chamber of Commerce, 1953) 3-12, Flinders University Special Collection, p327.94 A948: Papers were also given by Dr. I. Clunies Ross, Rohan Rivett, Alan A. West, Hon. Pete Jarman and A. Moxom Simpson.

²²⁸ Ibid 3.

²²⁹ Ibid 4.

²³⁰ Ibid 5: he does not identify their names, but it was probably his sister Allison and her husband Rowland Butler.

²³¹ See Chapter 1, page 20.

his father's unfortunate connection to General Ho Ying Chen, who became Governor of Kweichou,²³² China, in 1920, and later retired to live in luxury in Shanghai from the benefits of ordering the planting of half a million acres of opium poppy. Riots caused by lack of food led to him being personally attacked so he took refuge in Pike Snr's stable. Pike Snr had no liking for Ho, 'but as a missionary he did not feel disposed to hand the General over'. He (Pike Snr) helped to disguise Ho who got away and reached the shelter of Shanghai'.²³³ Douglas Pike continues that his father left on furlough a few weeks later. This was 1924 when Douglas Pike and his elder sister Allison, accompanied their parents to Melbourne.²³⁴ It was five years before it was considered safe for Pike Snr and his wife to return to the Kweichou(w) area in which they had previously worked. Pike gives previously unknown information claiming that his father 'was shot by bandits for meddling in Chinese politics'.²³⁵ The apparent reason why Pike referred to this incident is revealed in his next sentence; 'I can give you numbers of cases like that where nothing the foreigner can do is right ... The people of Asia demand to be allowed to manage their own affairs, even if they make a bungling mess of it'.²³⁶ But the public account of his father's murder and the supposed reasons behind it do not answer why Pike revealed a private and emotional account of his father's death to an audience and later a readership beyond his personal acquaintanceship. There is little evidence that he divulged such information to other than family and some close friends in later years, so why announce it in this forum? There is no satisfactory answer. It was Pike's first public lecture and whether it was an exercise in catharsis cannot be ascertained.

Towards the end of the paper Pike admits that he does not know the answers to the various problems he has raised concerning Australia and Asia. However, he does emphasise

²³² Spelt Keichow in family letters.

²³³ Pike, (1952/1953) 9.

²³⁴ See Chapter 1, page 18.

²³⁵ Pike (1952/1953) 9.

²³⁶ Ibid 9.

the need to be free from ‘prejudice and premonitions’ in approaching our Asian neighbours.²³⁷

He concludes the paper with an unusual re-phrasing of a New Testament Biblical text:

In closing I quote the words of an ancient sage, written 2,000 years ago.

“I may accurately predict the future; I may penetrate all the mysteries and secrets of science; I may have such profound confidence that I can move mountains. But if I have no humanity I count for nothing.”²³⁸

Included in Pike’s final sentence before this quote was his plea for Australians to ‘make a humane gesture’ towards their northern neighbours, ‘by broadminded and big-hearted adjustments of our own personal attitudes’.²³⁹ It seems clear that he linked ‘humane’ with the word ‘humanity’ in his Biblical re-interpretation which pointed to the English translation ‘charity’.²⁴⁰ His sentiments seem directed at his audience to accept responsibility for right attitudes towards Asia for he adds: ‘We have it within our power to make them enemies or friends’.²⁴¹ But why use his own translation of the Scriptures to a non-church audience who may not make a Scriptural connection? What response came from the audience is not known but memories from his years in China and time in ministerial training must have been re-kindled.

Following the above oral presentation but prior to its publication, Pike produced his first published articles, both appearing in the *SA Branch* production of the *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia* in late 1952.²⁴² ‘John Slater’s Letter’, and ‘The Utopian

²³⁷ Ibid 11.

²³⁸ Ibid 12: 1 Corinthians 13:2 ‘And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing’ (King James Version).

²³⁹ Ibid 12.

²⁴⁰ The King James Version translates the Greek original ‘*agapan*’, meaning divine love, not human love, as ‘charity’.

²⁴¹ Pike (1952/1953) 12.

²⁴² ‘John Slater’s Letter’, *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, SA Branch*, Vol. 53 (December 1952), 53-64; ‘The Utopian Dreams of Adelaide’s Founders’, *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, SA Branch*, Vol. 53 (December 1952) 65-77.

Dreams of Adelaide's Founders', were vastly different presentations of life in two Australian colonies and being published together revealed the distinct contrast that Pike, no doubt, wanted to convey. Slater, a framework knitter, had arrived at Sydney on the ship 'Larkens' in November 1817 after being sentenced to transportation for life earlier that year. He wrote the letter for his wife Catherine and their four children and according to Pike: 'Among a bundle of papers presumed to have come from the Gill Collection, an interesting discovery was recently made in the York Gate Library'.²⁴³ These words commenced Pike's brief introduction to this copy of Slater's informative and well-written letter, which had the object that his family might join him in the colony. At the time of submission in 1952 the original letter had not been found. The manuscript copy contained '*a description of Sydney, Paramatta (sic), Newcastle ... with some account of the Manners and Employment of the Convicts...*' centred in New South Wales from a convict perspective and was made by his wife Catherine, with a covering note to Joseph Birch, MP, dated 1818 and printed in Nottingham England.²⁴⁴

Recent information from the Mitchell Library in New South Wales records that Catherine Slater arranged for the letter to be published and the Mitchell Library owns that copy (ref As 168) which was donated in 1953 by the RGS of SA. 'It is not clear from various records we have access to, as to whether the copy letter was part of the York Gate Library or the Thomas Gill Library. The York Gate Library was collected by a London merchant, Stephen William Silver a member of the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, London. It was purchased by the Society in 1905/6. Gill was the first Treasurer of the South Australian Branch of the Society. His library was purchased by the Society in 1924'. Pike's presumption regarding the Gill Collection is questioned. In the Society's minutes of meeting on 17 October 1952 it is recorded ".....the original of a letter recently discovered in the York Gate Library should be transferred to the Mitchell Library...". Regarding Pike's Introduction and

²⁴³ Ibid, 53.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

explanation: ‘This appears to be incorrect as the two collections are unrelated prior to the 1924 purchase. It also appears that the letter was unrecorded or uncatalogued as at 1953. Perhaps it is possible that the collections became intermixed in the Society’s library after that time’.²⁴⁵

Pike’s second article in the same issue, which echoed parts of his Master’s thesis, featured the dreams, plans and influences that led to the founding of South Australia and contained the text of his first known public lecture presented at the University of Adelaide on 21 September 1952. His opening paragraph was geared to catch attention:

South Australians like to contrast the hoisting of the flag by Captain Phillip in the presence of his marines and convicts with the reading of the proclamation by Captain Hindmarsh before the assembled free settlers. Nor do they forget to remind themselves that this free province was in many ways superior to that penitentiary for law-breakers.²⁴⁶

Space is naturally given to E. G. Wakefield and to a lesser extent, Jeremy Bentham in planning the settlement, but Pike emphasised that the domination of Wakefield by some (unknown) state historians has meant ‘the exclusion of many other important parts of the story’.²⁴⁷ One of his aims in the paper is to point out that Adelaide’s founders had more in view than making money, they were concerned to create ‘a new and free society’.²⁴⁸ It is our loss that no voice recordings of Pike have survived. His choice of written and oral expressions reveals witticisms that colour his presentation, and must have maintained audience attention.

²⁴⁵ Kevin Leamon, Reader Services Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, 26 April 2007. Catharine Slater arranged for a copy of the letter to be published in 1819. see on-line facsimile, p.1 “To the public” <http://www.newcastle.edu.au/service/archives/chrp/pdf/slater...etc>

²⁴⁶ Ibid, ‘Utopian Dreams’ (1952) 65.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid 66.

An extract from his second-last paragraph highlights both the theme of this paper and his clear method of presentation:

It was perhaps in the religious sphere that the Utopian dreams of the founders were most realized. The slight intrusion in religious liberty by the appointment of a chaplain proved so embarrassing to church authorities that within a few years they were glad to give up the small subsidy.²⁴⁹

Reasons for the publication of the lecture are unknown. Pike possibly submitted the text himself, as a contrast to John Slater's which emphasised convict society. Any reception accorded the lecture has not been preserved and four years were to pass before Pike ventured into the print domain of an historical journal. A further contribution by Pike during this period was his presentation to the University of Adelaide Library on 23 April 1953 of his annotations accompanying forty-eight foolscap pages plus six leaves of a 'Colonization Society proposal', authored by Jeremy Bentham and E. G. Wakefield, comprising a 'photostat reproduction from the microfilm copy of manuscripts in the Bentham Collection, University College London'. The title proposal described the purpose as being 'for formation of a Joint Stock Company by the name of Colonization Company on an entirely new principle intituled the vicinity-maximizing or dispersion-preventing principle. August, 1831'.²⁵⁰ Pike left no details as to his discovery of this document but it was probably found during his Master's research.

On the 1 June of that same year (1952) Pike was one of six speakers at a lecture series entitled 'Australia's Place in World Affairs', under the auspices of the Adelaide Junior Chamber of Commerce. Prior to this and eleven months after the Pikes returned to Adelaide, submitted his topic to the University for the degree of Doctor of Letters and applied for the

²⁴⁹ Ibid 76 & 77.

²⁵⁰ U of A Barr Smith Special collections oversize rare, 325.942 B47.

John Lorenzo Young Scholarship for Research.²⁵¹ He stated his proposed title as, 'Paradise of Dissent,' adding: 'an examination of the tradition of civil and religious liberty of the promoters and settlers of South Australia from 1831-1851'. His declared emphasis was to use his MA thesis as the basis for the doctoral work. Pike demonstrated his proposed research by listing the four MA thesis chapters and wrote that his new work of fifteen chapters would 'concentrate on the religious and social history of the period'.²⁵² Although the University of Adelaide Calendar for 1953 does not record that Pike received the John Lorenzo Young Scholarship for research, confirmation is recorded in correspondence and university archives, with the final payment to him after the completion of his doctoral thesis.²⁵³

It is clear however, that Pike faced a mammoth task in completing his new dissertation and a key requirement was examination of data available overseas. Previous investigation for his Masters thesis, both in Perth and Adelaide, had convinced Pike that the bulk of research material was housed in England: therefore he applied for study leave in South-East Asia and the United Kingdom, with his stated purpose, 'To study the English background of the founders of South Australia from sources available only in England'. The application was strongly supported with a handwritten addition by Professor Duncan, who was to investigate additional teaching assistance during Pike's absence.²⁵⁴ Linked with this application, Pike's former head at the University of Western Australia, had submitted his and one other name through the local committee to the Rockefeller Foundation regarding 'disciplinary coverage'

²⁵¹ D. Pike to A. W. Bampton, 31 July 1951: G. Portus to University Registrar, 5 January 1950: D. Pike to University Registrar, 5 January 1950, AUA, D. 189/48: Assistant Registrar to Pike, 15 February 1950, AUA, D. 189/48.

²⁵² Ibid, 31 July 1951.

²⁵³ *Calendar of The University of Adelaide for the year 1953*, 246: Registrar to D. Pike, 9 August 1951 and 17 September 1951, D. 674/51: The University of Adelaide Archives, 3 April 1957, (D. 764/51): H. Stretton to The University of Adelaide registrar, 1 April, 1957 (D.764/51):F. Colbert, St. John's College Cambridge to J. Calvert, 'Draft register of Twentieth Century Johnians', 21 July 2003: also *Fellowship News*, December 1947, 7 (privately held).

²⁵⁴ D. Pike to Head of the Department, 6 October 1952: Minutes of the Study Leave Committee, 5 December 1952, D. 981/52: A. W. Brampton, Registrar to W. G. K. Duncan, 22 December 1952.

to assist with research. However, both applications were rejected as being ‘outside the scope of the Division of Social Sciences’.²⁵⁵

In any case, Pike was granted leave of absence plus a financial grant of 617 pounds covering fares and allowances, from September 1953 until August 1954, while Olive remained in Adelaide with their two sons.²⁵⁶ This was his first overseas journey since arriving in Melbourne with his parents and sister from China thirty years before. That must have seemed like a different world but unfortunately we are not aware of his reflections, although travel anticipation must have been coloured by memories. His departure was delayed until October in order to complete lecturing responsibilities, and examination papers were to be sent to him in London for marking. The delay in leaving and the decision to mark examinations may have reflected Pike’s willingness to assist his department as it was not until the following April, 1954, that Noel Adams a journalist with Adelaide’s morning newspaper, *The Advertiser*, was appointed as a part-time lecturer for History III.²⁵⁷ In addition to previously stated research purposes, Pike wanted to visit Singapore to read ‘original material relating to South Australia in Malaya’. This investigation covered trade, shipping and biographical sources linked with South Australians. He also wished to study any progress emanating from the ‘newly formed Trade Unions of Malaya’ to ascertain how racial differences were being overcome and what contribution was being made to the overthrow of communism. This latter inquiry was to assist in his courses in teaching Far Eastern History. Approval was given with the addition of an additional 50 pounds to meet expenses.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ R. F. Evans to Sir Douglas Copland, 30 September 1952; F. Alexander to W. G. K. Duncan, 16 October 1952.

²⁵⁶ Minutes of the Study Leave Committee, 5 December 1952, D. 981/52; A. W. Brampton to D. Pike, 22 December 1952, D.981/52; The University of Adelaide, Faculty of Arts Minutes, Vol. VI, 11 March 1953. At the same meeting the Faculty agreed with the introduction of the Ph. D. degree within the Faculty of Arts.

²⁵⁷ D. Pike to Academic Secretary, 12 February 1953, D. 981/52; Noel Adams, senior journalist with *The Advertiser*, W. G. K. Duncan to A. W. Bampton, The Registrar, 21 April 1953.

²⁵⁸ D. Pike to Study Leave Committee, 7 July 1953, D.981/52. This request was supported by W. G. K. Duncan, and approval was given, D.981/52.

While in England, Pike met University of Melbourne Rhodes Scholar, Hugh Stretton, who was tutoring as a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Stretton invited Pike to stay with him and his wife for some months, which saved him money during his research period. The two men talked about Adelaide for Stretton had been invited to become the university's Professor of History. The precise words have been long forgotten and Stretton does not remember Pike being anything but courteous about Stretton being his superior.²⁵⁹ His overseas research completed Pike was commissioned by the Cambridge University Press to write a history of Australia for their Commonwealth Series. The proposed volume was eventually published in 1962 as *Australia: the Quiet Continent*, and will be examined in a later chapter.²⁶⁰

He discussed this proposition with Stretton who agreed that Pike should return to Adelaide earlier than expected in order to access his papers and references for such writing. Pike sailed for home on the P&O liner *Strathmore*, and from Colombo posted a letter to A. W. Bampton, the Registrar at the University of Adelaide, anticipating arriving in the middle of June. In the same letter he sought approval for the remainder of his leave, which was due to end at the beginning of third term, to be taken in Adelaide for the writing of his commissioned work. Pike's request was granted as returning home prior to the expected date did not interfere with departmental arrangements and would obviously benefit the academic output from the university.²⁶¹

The primary object of Pike's nine months study leave was to search 'for new material relevant to the history of South Australia'. His visits to thirty-three libraries and manuscript collections, seven universities, the University of London's Institute of Historical Research and several private individuals working in imperial history occupied four months in England, one in Scotland, one in Singapore, two in travel and the remainder in Adelaide writing up his

²⁵⁹ H. Stretton - J. Calvert, 4 October 2001 (privately held).

²⁶⁰ *Australia: the Quiet Continent* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press) 1962.

²⁶¹ D. Pike to A. W. Bampton, 6 June 1954, AUA/D.981/52: Brampton to Pike, 23 June, 1954, D.981/52.

notes. To save on costs, financial arrangements for copying documents on microfilm were made for a Joint Copying Project with the Librarian of the Australian National Library, with that repository and the South Australian Archives obtaining material for Australian history studies.²⁶² Additional biographical material, emigrant lists from the Public Record Office and new material on E. G. Wakefield augured well for Pike's proposed dissertation, the teaching of South Australian history and future colonial historiography.²⁶³

Following his return to Adelaide, Pike took charge of third-year history classes, a responsibility which made him 'increasingly aware of the need to make history relevant to people in this country'.²⁶⁴ He expanded his application of this sentence in reflections that revealed his developed historical understanding:

Certainly old world history has great periods and great themes that deserve study for their own sake, but many of these themes can also be explored in their application to new world conditions. I have attempted this kind of exploration in most of my writing. More recently in new lectures on Imperialism, I have tried to widen the standard economic interpretation by taking examples from Canada, Africa and Australia in order to emphasise such things as the development of empire administration, the adaptation of English Common Law to local custom, and the emergence of new social classes and ideas.²⁶⁵

Pike returned home with little time to waste for he not only had been absent from his family for nine months, but now needed to organise his overseas research material, plan his

²⁶² Study Leave Report by D. H. Pike, 3 September 1954, AUA/D.982/52: D. Pike, 'Index to register of emigrant labourers applying for a few passage to South Australia, 1836-1841' (microform) UA Multimedia Microfiche 4494: See also A. Burrows, S. Mildred, P. Moore, M. Talbot, compilers in *Kith and Kin: Sources for family history* (Adelaide, The Libraries Board of South Australia, 1994) fh 929.3 M888.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Pike's story, Q31/ADB 71.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

volume for the Cambridge Press and prepare for the final term of lectures. Further changes were imminent for shortly after Pike re-commenced work in September 1954, Hugh Stretton arrived to take up his post as the inaugural Chair in the new Department of History, after its division from Political Science. Stretton timed his arrival to have opportunity to assess his new position. He presumed (incorrectly) all teaching was over for the year and (in his mind) maximum time for holidays had arrived. His first priority was to meet with his colleagues: Pike, Kathleen Woodroffe and Wilfrid Oldham. Stretton made clear his thoughts that their Department 'should be run by the voice of its academics not by any boss head'. Stretton wanted to be honest and laid his cards on the table to his colleagues from the outset. He consulted them about a variety of department matters and then discussed the distribution of teaching work for the next year.²⁶⁶ In other words, Stretton 'wanted to democratise the ... department'. He did not know at that time that his senior colleagues were distressed at his directions, particularly Pike. Stretton's recollection of this meeting more than forty years later deserves quoting:

There was always a streak of sourness about some things in the world, and most of the time I knew him (Pike) they were about things that it was proper to be sour about: Like the Church of England and the Establishment. I said that the Head of Department's authority should be put into commission to be disposed of by the academic members of the Department by vote, and Douglas went along with this so courteously that I never knew until after he left that he was agonised by it – he thought it was a terrible thing to do – he hated it'.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ H. Stretton – J. Calvert interview, 4 October 2001 (privately held).

²⁶⁷ H. Stretton interviewed by N. Meaney, 28 August 1986, NLA (TRC 2053/4) 27.

Although we cannot be certain, it seems in hindsight that the years Pike was under boarding school jurisdiction had instilled in him the belief that leadership meant direction rather than consensus. His work under Alexander and Portus may also have confirmed his belief in a more direct departmental authority. That Pike was inwardly distressed but did not express disagreement in this first official meeting with Stretton, despite his position as Reader, suggests that his response of *bury*, from his past in the bush was still evident. We all deal with disagreements in different ways and although Pike internalised departmental problems he remained loyal to his head of department. His boss was not aware at that time of Pike's misgivings or that opposition existed within his team. Hugh Stretton remembers Pike showing 'faultless parochial care of a good many people, including me. He was perceptive, unobtrusive and deft in the ways in which he set out to help'. Stretton's high appreciation of Pike has remained through the more than thirty years since his untimely death. He remembers that Pike often assisted colleagues outside of daily work requirements by pouring concrete for paths or fences and assisted the sick, deserted, bereaved or incapacitated without being asked.²⁶⁸

Stretton also described Pike as an effective lecturer who wove his knowledge of Chinese brigands, missionaries and Australian sheep stations along with his own research.²⁶⁹ Something of this activism was exhibited by Pike himself when he suffered two heart attacks in late 1954 and was off work for three months. Records of this event are minimal except for two letters written by Stretton. The first to O. C. Watson in Cambridge mentioning that Pike was off work brought on by several years of overwork. Stretton added that following Pike's recovery; he would ensure that proper limits would be put upon his teaching.²⁷⁰ Whether that restraint was ever implemented remains conjecture. The second letter was written twenty

²⁶⁸ H. Stretton to J. A. La Nauze, nd, probably 1974, Q31/ADB 59.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ H. Stretton to O. C. Watson, University Press, Cambridge, 9 November 1954, NLA 6869, Box 11.

years later, and enumerated Stretton's recollections to John La Nauze following Pike's death in 1974. Pike 'recovered from them with a reckless determination to get fit or die, running well ahead of his doctors' schedules of exercise and return to work'.²⁷¹ Pike's hard work ethic in which he had pushed himself mentally and physically for years, combined with internalising some problems which remained *buried* in his thoughts, apparent lack of exercise and years of smoking, suggested the above heart problems had long been on the agenda. The remaining twenty years of his life did not slow down his productivity and his continued relentless pace may have largely contributed to his final illness and death.

Clearance from his medical advisers meant that Pike soon returned to teaching, supervising and writing his major thesis. Hugh Stretton remembers that Pike 'wrote a fairly weary conventional word prose'. With Stretton's assistance in 1955, 'he taught himself, deliberately and quickly, to write the hard spare stuff you see in the Dictionary... Nobody ever compressed pronouns as ruthlessly and ignominiously as Douglas did as editor to the biography. So he just needed encouragement'.²⁷²

During 1956 as Pike's thesis neared completion his investigations into the British Colonial Department and the influence of E. G. Wakefield on pre-colonisation schemes produced his first journal article in four years.²⁷³ His contribution was one short introductory paragraph based on a Wakefield letter to Sir R. W. Horton who had become Governor of Ceylon, and revealed in the latter's private papers. Pike's pertinent assessment of Wakefield's comments, maligning Horton: 'indicates that Wakefield was guilty either of malice or of failing memory'.²⁷⁴ The remainder of the article, without further contribution by Pike, included correspondence introducing a series of letters covering various months in 1829-31

²⁷¹ H. Stretton to J. La Nauze, Q31/ADB 59.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ D. Pike, 'Wilmot Horton and the National Colonization Society', in *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 7 (1956), 205-210.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, 205.

that featured personalities named in early South Australian colonisation plans: particularly Horton and Gouger.²⁷⁵ Both these men were included in Volume 1 of the *ADB* when it was published ten years later, but neither article included the name of the author. Pike was the founding General Editor and never appended his name to his own contributions. Does that suggest that he authored all unsigned articles? Not necessarily, for one clue in the Preface of Volume One, which Pike wrote, states: ‘Most of the unsigned entries were prepared by Dictionary staff’. This matter will be further examined in chapter six.²⁷⁶

It is my contention that Pike submitted the article for three reasons. First, he had discovered more material on the National Colonization Society that could be included in his thesis and it needed to be available to state and federal archives. Then, Wakefield’s advocacy of systematic colonization plans was overshadowed by him being as much ‘an enigma to his contemporaries as he is to posterity’.²⁷⁷ However, despite his characteristic egocentricity and plagiarism, Wakefield cannot be marginalized in any account of colonization plans and was not alone in being argumentative and autocratic.²⁷⁸ Third, Pike was concerned to expose the essential sources, arguments and characters of those who contributed to the colony’s establishment, rather than presenting merely a romantic picture that excluded convicts.

Pike continued his relentless work schedule and in the second half of 1956, the conclusion of his two-volume thesis was on the horizon. Three examiners accepted appointment: Professor Sir Keith Hancock at the University of London, Professor J. A. La Nauze in Melbourne and Dr. A. F. Madden at Oxford.²⁷⁹ While the three examiners

²⁷⁵ D. Pike, gen. ed. ‘Robert Gouger’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 1: 1788-1850, A-H* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966) 461- 463; D. Pike, gen. ed. ‘Sir Robert Wilmot Horton’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 1: 1788-1850, A-H* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966) 554.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, v.

²⁷⁷ G. L. Pretty, ‘E. G. Wakefield’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 2: 1788-1850, I-Z*, gen. ed. D. Pike, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967) 559-562.

²⁷⁸ D. H. Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1957) 77.

²⁷⁹ H. Stretton to University of Adelaide Registrar, 25 September 1956 (D.674/51): Hancock had by then moved to ANU in Canberra, he and La Nauze each received 10 pounds Australian, and Madden 8 pounds sterling, 1 March 1957 (D.674/51)

recommended that the award of D. Litt be granted, they all reported particular criticisms relative to their considerations. Hancock observed that if Pike had shortened his work with his publishers, he would have clarified it. Describing the work as ‘substantial’ he added ‘it has the weight of two or three Ph. D. theses put together’.

La Nauze used five foolscap pages for his report. He referred to the ‘fault that there is no Bibliography or description of sources and their location’. Madden’s assessment acknowledged that Pike’s thesis was worthy of a D. Phil but he was (initially) unsure about the higher qualification of D. Litt. His mixture of commendations and criticisms included: ‘It is a learned, civilised, scholarly study ... exhaustive on a number of subjects and critical and mature in its judgments’. Adverse comments included: ‘its promise did not meet with fulfilment ... the title would seem to be a misnomer ... I fail to see the relevance of much of his biographical detail’. However, Madden was finally in no doubt about recommending the D. Litt.²⁸⁰

Despite such criticisms, in February 1957, notice was given, based upon the examiners’ reports that the degree of Doctor of Letters would be awarded to Mr. D. H. Pike. The thesis title had apparently been altered to: ‘Paradise of Dissent: The exportability of ideas of civil and religious liberty from mother country to colony’, although there is no extant documentation to substantiate the alteration.²⁸¹

A few months later, two significant events involving Pike occurred at the university. The first was his admission to the degree of Doctor of Letters at the Annual Commemoration on Wednesday 3 April. His award was the sixth of that degree in the history of the

²⁸⁰ W. K. Hancock, 23 January 1957; J. A. La Nauze, 23 January 1957; A. F. Madden 24 January 1957, UAA. D.674/51.

²⁸¹ Registrar to D. Pike, 26 February 1957 (D.674/51): Extract from the Minutes of the Faculty of Arts, 13 February 1957 and Extract from the Minutes of the Education Committee, 14 February 1957 (D. 674/51): *Historical Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 28 (May 1957) 487.

university.²⁸² The official announcement from the Council of the University contained significant commendation from Hugh Stretton, as Professor of History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts. Stretton's statement was both a partial review and brief explanation of the thesis (see Appendix 4.2).

Stretton's commendatory statements and probing questions are more than academic for the occasion. He is firstly referring to the uniqueness of South Australian history in its planning and commencement when compared with the birth of other colonies. Secondly, he is emphasising that Pike has not only researched and written an 'exhaustive study', and one which both describes and searches the process before and after colonisation, but one which contains seeds that will break open the glamorised husks of old family secrets. No doubt Stretton was aware of the forthcoming newspaper series, 'Adelaide with the Lid Off', which would quietly scandalise some old founding families, and even their descendents.

The other significant occasion highlighted his 500-page book *Paradise of Dissent*, based on his doctoral thesis, which was published on Monday 8 April, and launched at the old WEA University bookshop in the University of Adelaide grounds.²⁸³ Stretton remembers his own efforts in ensuring Pike attended the occasion for he shied away from the spotlight and did not want to participate in the book launch. Stretton recollected that Pike 'had a great distaste for every kind of pomposity especially connected with position and power and that sort of thing and having the launch like that by a Knight (Sir A. G. Price) for a big book might make him feel that people see him as one of them and that's what he didn't want'.²⁸⁴

²⁸² Previous recipients: A. G. Price, R. C. Bald, E. G. Biaggini, B. R. Elliott, T. T. Reed. U of A Archives, 26 February 1957 (VE/LT).

²⁸³ D. H. Pike (1957): Information from Professor Hugh Stretton who was present for the occasion, and Jack Cross who remembers the bookshop and was a student of Pike's, 25 April 2004.

²⁸⁴ H. Stretton - J. Calvert interview, 4 October 2004 (privately held).

Pike has also been characterised as a man who ‘held himself to himself’, complicated, shy and independent, but stropky when teased.²⁸⁵ Pike was also a deflator of any pretensions of his own and on this occasion sulked in a corner of the room until stirred to action by Sir A. G. Price whose task was to launch the volume.²⁸⁶ Price asked: ‘this is your masterpiece, what can you be prouder of than this’? Pike quietly replied, ‘I can kill, skin and dress a lamb in a minute forty seconds’.²⁸⁷ His quick response and lack of desire for prestige was another side of his character, also described as courteous with a dry sense of humour, hence his reply to Price.²⁸⁸

The book-launch was preceded by a favourable review from Noel Adams in *The Advertiser*, under the bold print heading, ‘A colony built in free air’.²⁸⁹ Not so exuberant was the eastern states review in *The Sydney Morning Herald* that described the volume as ‘Prodigious’.²⁹⁰ From Canberra, Pike’s future boss, Sir Keith Hancock, produced a carefully worded positive review suggesting that the mantle of Dr. Grenfell Price had fallen on Dr. Pike, but he was not the only reader ‘to protest most belligerently against Dr. Pike’s scrappy five-page-index’.²⁹¹ The index was expanded and revised in the 1967 edition.

There were several other reviews of this edition. A detailed five-page review was issued by Pike’s friend at that time, and the one who launched his book, Price, in the pioneer edition issue of a new journal on Australian writing and criticism.²⁹² Book reviewers have to present a critical appraisal and Price exercised that prerogative. Describing the volume as ‘a

²⁸⁵ N. Doe – J. Calvert interview 9 May 2003: P. Howell - J. Calvert interview 26 March 2002: K. Inglis - J. Calvert interview, 8 January 2002.

²⁸⁶ R. L. Heathcote: ‘Sir Archibald Grenfell Price’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, eds. J. Ritchie and D. Langmore, Vol. 16 1940-1980, Pik-Z (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2002) 31-33.

²⁸⁷ H. Stretton to J. Calvert interview, 18 March 1999 (privately held).

²⁸⁸ G. Fischer - J. Calvert interview 14 April 2002: C. & H. Lawton – J. Calvert interview 22 February 2002.

²⁸⁹ N. Adams, *The Advertiser* (6 April 1957) 2. Adams was foreign editor and taught International Relations at the University of Adelaide.

²⁹⁰ R. T. Foster, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (22 June 1957) 17.

²⁹¹ W. K. Hancock, *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vols. 3 & 4 (November 1957-November 1958) 131-133.

²⁹² A. G. Price, ‘Australian Letters: A quarterly of Australian writing and criticism,’ Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 1957) 26-30.

study of ideals – the ideals put forward by the founders’, and the way they succeeded or failed, Price drew on his own vast historical knowledge of the colony/state to closely examine the author’s research. He first listed his estimation of ‘the most important research works in early South Australian History’: Mills, his own, Oldham, Williams, Mayo, Rudall and Hassell. Price judged Pike’s work as ‘largely outside these fields’, and regarded Pike’s ‘most striking contribution is (as) his delightful sketches of the leading founders and colonists – conservatives, radicals, republicans, churchmen, and dissenters’. He concluded with reference to the 1856-1936 period, which South Australian historians have not examined, with the hope that Pike would extend his next research into that period.²⁹³

An extensive review describing the book as ‘a satisfying work,’ was written by Frank Crowley, who had met Pike in 1949 during his time in Perth. However, he rightly criticised ‘the inconvenient relegation of the plethora of footnotes (3,146 for 516 pages of text) ...and (the) at least 1,000 direct quotations of varying lengths’.²⁹⁴ Three years later, *The Journal of Religious History* published a review in its inaugural edition. With more general comments than specific criticisms the reviewer nevertheless makes the significant observation: ‘Perhaps for the first time an Australian historian has given due weight to religious and ecclesiastical impulses, and has done so with a fine discrimination’.²⁹⁵

Adelaide’s evening paper, *The News*, delayed its review until the week celebrating the centenary of South Australia obtaining responsible government. One reason for this delay was Pike’s ABC broadcast on 22 April highlighting the celebration, the transcript fortunately preserved but no audio of his words.²⁹⁶ This event naturally gave publicity to his book and first number of the forthcoming newspaper articles. The day preceding Anzac Day

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ F. K. Crowley, *Historical Studies*, Vol. 8, no. 29 (November 1957) 103-5.

²⁹⁵ G. L. Lockley, *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 1960) 56-57.

²⁹⁶ D. Pike, *The Coming of Responsible Government to South Australia* (22 April 1957) NLA 6869, Box 17: ‘The Coming of Responsible Government’, *Trade Digest*, Adelaide Chamber of Commerce, Vol. VII, No. (12, April 1957) 8 & 9.

celebrations an elaborate and complimentary review appeared in *The News*²⁹⁷ written by its editor Rohan Rivett,²⁹⁸ who announced in a small but obvious highlighted black block on page one, ‘UNIVERSITY RESEARCHER TAKES LID OFF SA’S FOUNDING FATHERS’: see pp. 12 & 13. Rivett utilised seven columns of the paper to describe Pike’s book under the dominant caption,

RESEARCH MAN EXPLODES MYTHS ABOUT EARLY SA.

Rivett’s emphasised paragraphs appeared in bold print. **‘The legend in certain “history” books that South Australia was the model colony (in contrast with the turbulent doings and misconduct that attended the birth of her larger Eastern sisters) becomes laughable as Dr. Pike’s scalpel uncovers the grabbings, blunders, intrigues, and backbitings of the most influential colonists’.**²⁹⁹

The News was the reading fare for evening public transport commuters on their way home from work. In this context Rivett next stirred his readers on Monday 27 May with a page one reminder that ‘Early Adelaide with the lid off’ was about to lift the lid: **Some of the men and women who settled on the shores of St. Vincent Gulf were no angels.** (see Appendix 4.3). The appearance of the pen portraits from May 1957 was at times spasmodic. Most appeared on a weekly basis, but none was published in August. Initial research in the Barr Smith archives and the State Library has revealed copies of twenty articles that concluded in November. Outside those holdings three more articles appeared in December and following a break in January the series continued throughout 1958 until a December contribution added an addendum that the present series had now concluded. To my

²⁹⁷ *The News* (24 April 1957) 1, 12 & 13.

²⁹⁸ K. S. Inglis: ‘Rohan Deakin Rivett’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, eds. J. Ritchie and D. Langmore, Vol. 16, 1940-1980, Pik-Z (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2002) 99 & 100.

²⁹⁹ *The News* (24 April 1957) 12 & 13.

knowledge none of the twelve month's contributions from 1958 have been preserved in the State Library archival records, only the articles from 1957.

Sources from this period demonstrate the extremely busy life of an academic historian, who had recovered from two heart attacks, had just completed a mammoth thesis, was Reader in a large history department with responsibilities for lectures and supervision, plus a growing family of two lively boys: Douglas aged fourteen and Andrew, eleven.³⁰⁰ Whether he received remuneration for such a journalistic commitment has not been determined. At that stage Pike had written only four journal articles, all emanating from his thesis investigation.³⁰¹ Was his attempt at journalism a respite from years of research and detailed writing or did a new career beckon? It is my contention after viewing Pike's Master's thesis and the extensive *Paradise of Dissent* thesis that was transferred into a book, that a significant amount of Pike's research had not been included nor perhaps considered suitable for academic presentation. His own choice of words and evidence from his sources revealed a mind that was not confined to academic expression, although his work responsibilities did not permit further writing in that vein. And there were clues in colonial sources that fed Pike's vocabulary. One clear example concerned George Stevenson, a journalist who enjoyed using satire and invective against opponents. He had travelled on the Buffalo, was private secretary to Governor Hindmarsh and attached to numerous other positions including Editor of the South Australian Register and Colonial Gazette. Stevenson's writing was condemned by an opposition group of colonists that included the significant names of Gouger, Fisher, Light, Finnis, Gilbert and Morphett, who wanted to start another journal. Pike wrote that 'Stevenson's opinion of this proposal was characteristic':

³⁰⁰ Douglas, 23 February 1943 and Andrew, 1 January 1946, both born in Adelaide.

³⁰¹ D. Pike, 'John Slater's Letter', *RGSA, SA Branch*, Vol. 53 (December, 1952) 53-64: and 'The Utopian Dreams of Adelaide's Founders', *RGSA, SA Branch*, Vol. 53 (December, 1952) 65-77: 'William Horton and the National Colonization Society', *HAS&NZ*, Vol. 7 (1956) 205-210: 'The Coming of Responsible Government', *Trade Digest*, Adelaide Chamber of Commerce, Vol. VII, No. 12 (April 1957) 8 & 9.

‘A few halfwitted gentlemen have found their way hither and not contented with scribbling lying nonsense for the gratification of their private friends are ambitious to see their lucubrations in print’.³⁰² The curriculum during Pike’s school years grounded him in English grammar and expression. His undergraduate years in Adelaide built on this education and he developed a brusque prose, which is obvious in the Introduction to his Master’s thesis and more evident after Stretton’s help. In the context of describing early colonial settlement, Pike’s descriptive words commenced: ‘Born into a hot house atmosphere of reform the puny creation shrilly clamoured for, and had thrust upon it, the status of an adult. Compelled to run before it could properly crawl, the colony was undismayed by any tottering collapse’.³⁰³ Pike’s popular prose was demonstrated in two sentences that are similar to his future articles. In a section entitled Emigration after 1825, Pike wrote: ‘The colonists’ insistence on emigration free from the smell of police and pauperism did much to dissolve the fatal belief that overseas settlements were peopled by misfits’.³⁰⁴ Describing E. G. Wakefield’s return to London from across the channel in 1833, Pike permitted his pen to clearly illustrate his opinion: ‘Wakefield returned from the continent on March 17th and immediately resumed his subterranean working’.³⁰⁵ Pike developed this descriptive and racy style to a large extent in many newspaper articles.

From one perspective his sardonic expressions gave interested readers a slice of colonial history with a twist and a smile. From another viewpoint, a frown and sense of embarrassment, even anger, might be a more apt description of some responses. Rivett’s review of *Paradise of Dissent* was a publicity springboard for the newspaper articles that ranged between three and four hundred words, but while the book sold and is still consulted,

³⁰² D. Pike, *Paradise* (1957) 104 & 224 & 542: original source, *Gazette and Registrar*, 17-ii-1838.

³⁰³ Pike, thesis (1957) ii.

³⁰⁴ Pike, *Paradise* (1957) 43.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 67.

the articles have been forgotten. Sources for the series were not referenced and state Parliamentary records are silent. There was no evidence of litigation.

Many of the articles were printed on the same pages as *Letters to the Editor*, but if any colonial descendants were upset there was no published counter-charge. I suspect there were oral responses and the rumour is that some families were indignant and may even have conducted bonfires of private family papers in case further lids were lifted, but there is no hard evidence. However, a South Australian born student of Pike's during that period, Jack Cross, believes there was great indignation from certain members of the establishment who regarded their ancestors with honour and superiority. Pike was apparently referred to in whispered tones as a 'muckraker'.³⁰⁶ While some Adelaide families read only *The Advertiser*, many bought both papers. Rivalry in circulation was expected but most readers were not biased one against the other.

Pike's choice of subjects for the pen-portraits varied between the well-known colonists: namely, Angas, Morphett, Gawler, Sir George and Lady Grey, Torrens, Gilles, Gouger, Grace Farrell who had married the first two chaplains, and John McDouall Stuart. Lesser-known characters included George Nicholls 'SA's first 'bolshie'', Henry Dixon the gaolbird, C. G. Platts the father of SA music, and a botanist family, the 'green-fingered' Baileys.

An indicator of this lack of overt response to Pike's articles may be found in the state's portrayal of conservatism. For example, historian Marian Quartly presents this belief when describing her life in Adelaide during the 1950s. She learnt in her youth that South Australians regarded themselves as 'morally superior to the offspring of convicts'.³⁰⁷ Fifty

³⁰⁶ Information from J. Cross, 25 April 2004.

³⁰⁷ M. Quartly, 'Adelaide: Growing Up in the Fifties: Safe Places', *The Forgotten Fifties*, in 'Australian Historical Studies', ed. J. Murphy & J. Smart, Vol. 28, No. 109 (Melbourne, MUP, October 1997) 166.

years later that is not current philosophy and eastern states inhabitants are proud of their convict heritage.

The question remains as to why there was no overt reaction to such an extensive series of articles. Were they ignored publicly by those who knew them to be correct, or ignored because silence gives no credence to criticism? Were the lids not sufficiently lifted and the contents barely spilt, and soon followed by an expose of someone else? Newspapers and radio were the main communication means during the 1950s. Television did not come to Adelaide until the end of the decade and it 'was destined to change the reporting of public and political affairs in South Australia'.³⁰⁸

Did Pike's series deliver Rivett's promise and **lift the lid**? The articles are entertaining, reveal fascinating views into colonial figures and open the door about characters who were 'hated', involved in 'public brawls', or 'red-blooded'. I contend that the humanity of early nineteenth century South Australians is little different to the behaviour of twenty-first century inhabitants. Fifty years have passed since *The News* threatened the Adelaide establishment during the reign of its longest serving Premier Tom Playford. Ken Inglis, a fellow lecturer with Pike, wrote his account of *The Stuart Case* some years later and remarked that '*The News* was not always respectful towards people who enjoyed power or prestige'.³⁰⁹ It was left to one appreciative letter from Rivett, addressed to Pike at the university and headed News Limited, to convey the editor's response to the articles. 'Your series which has created a great deal of interest and broken so much new ground, has come to an end ... I hope you enjoyed the writing of it as many of us enjoyed reading it'.³¹⁰

Why the apparent digression into the newspaper series in this academic presentation? The series is significant in this academic context for an aspect of Pike's quirky personality is

³⁰⁸ S. Cockburn, *Playford: Benevolent Despot*, (Adelaide, Axiom Publishing, South Australia, 1991) 291.

³⁰⁹ K. S. Inglis, *The Stuart Case*, (Melbourne, MUP, 1961) 69.

³¹⁰ R. Rivett to D. Pike, 18 December 1958, NLA 6869 Box 7.

revealed that is naturally restrained in his thesis and journal presentations. Considering his future anonymous dictionary contributions it is a wonder that he appended his name in *The News*, unless the publicity increased book sales, and certainly the University and its history department received free publicity. Despite this innovative digression Pike's writing was not locked into newspapers articles, for he was an historian not a journalist, and never returned to journalistic writing although I contend it was a helpful discipline in future editorial restraint. The closest he came to popular writing was during his second year of newspaper-articles (1958), a thirty-page biographical presentation as his only contribution to the popular history collection 'Australian Explorers'. The total series, suitable as a school-text, consisted of some seventy titles representing men and women regarded as 'Great Australians'. Pike's thirty-page adventure-style account featured the controversial Scottish-born explorer John McDoull Stuart, who migrated to the South Australian colony three years after it was settled.³¹¹ Again Pike's ability to attract a reading audience was evident in his opening sentences: 'John McDouall Stuart claimed descent from Scotland's royal family. He had no proof, but perhaps he believed it because Bonnie Prince Charlie was his hero'.³¹²

During this period Pike participated in a conference of Australian historians, convened by Sir Keith Hancock, at ANU from 24-27 August 1957, called 'The Canberra History Conference'.³¹³ Pike's paper consisting of three foolscap pages was titled, 'The Writing of Church History', and his opening sentences are included in the next chapter (page 14) as part of Robin Gollan's Conference report.³¹⁴ The full-page introduction is followed by four sections and concludes with a half-page extract from a nineteenth century English religious

³¹¹ D. Pike, *John McDoull Stuart, Australian Explorers* (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1958).

³¹² *Ibid*, 5.

³¹³ R. Gollan, 'Canberra History Conference', *Historical Studies Australia & New Zealand*, Vol. 8, Number 29 (November 1957) 80-92.

³¹⁴ D. H. Pike, 'The Writing of Church History' at *Conference of Australian Historians* (Canberra, ANU, 24-27 August 1957) 1-3, NLA Npf 994 CON: R. Gollan (1957) 82.

scholar, R. D. Hanson without giving reason for his inclusion.³¹⁵ Pike's emphasis is to bridge whatever gap exists between religious adherents and their accounts of history: 'The time has long since arrived for embodying the strong religious motives of the nineteenth and earlier centuries into the general stream of history'.³¹⁶ The next year (1958) Pike read a paper on 'Churches and the Modern State', at an ANU seminar in Canberra organised by the Departments of Law and Political Science. His essay dealt with implications in the doctrine of the separation of Church and State as it was being worked out in Australia. Combined with other papers the submissions were edited by L. C. Webb for inclusion in *Legal Personality and Political Pluralism* and published the following year.³¹⁷ Both ANU papers revealed Pike's knowledge of the subject both from his own ministerial training, plus more recent investigation from his doctoral dissertation, and reiterated his thesis, that South Australia was the first British Empire colony to separate Church and State.

A further occasion included Pike as one of a group who presented three lectures at the first Theodore Fink Memorial Seminar in Australian Education under the general heading, 'The History of Education in South Australia', comprising: 'Founding a Utopia: A Society without Grandparents': and 'Education in an Agricultural State'.³¹⁸ The total of seven studies from five authors, all originally University tutorials and lectures was presented at the Theodore Fink Memorial Seminar at the School of Education in the University of Melbourne in 1957. The series was edited by E. L. French, and published under the title, *Melbourne Studies in Education 1957-1958*.³¹⁹ In the general introduction, French summarised Pike's

³¹⁵ R. D. Hanson, 'Diocesan and Parish Histories: Religion as a social phenomena: Religion and Politics: Churches and Contemporary thought': plus R. D. Hanson, *The Apostle Paul and the Preaching of Christianity* (London, 1875) xvi.

³¹⁶ D. Pike (1957) 1.

³¹⁷ D. Pike, 'Churches and the Modern State,' ed. by L. C. Webb, in *Legal Personality and Political Pluralism* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press on behalf of The Australian National University, 1958) viii & 143-157.

³¹⁸ W. Hannah: 'Fink, Theodore (1855-1942)' in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 8: 1891-1939, Cl-Gib, gen. eds. B. Nairn and G. Serle, (Melbourne, MUP, 1981) 497-498.

³¹⁹ 'The History of Education in South Australia: Founding a Utopia, A Society without Grandparents, Education in an Agricultural State', ed. E. L. French in *Melbourne Studies in Education 1957-1958* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1958), v & 47-82.

contribution which, like his previous writing, portrayed a constant but significant theme: ‘Dr. Pike contributes an account of the evolution of the relations between Church and State as they have affected education in South Australia and of the traditional attitude of the South Australian taxpayer to the provision of a public system of education’.³²⁰

Once more Pike’s ability to grip listeners and readers was shown in his first sentence. ‘Education in Australia was an incomplete import from England, devoid of the centuries of endowment which in the mother country could provide an uncertain ladder from gutter to university’.³²¹ This final published article for the year, ‘South Australia: a historical sketch’, was edited by the Chairman of the Handbook Committee, R. J. Best in *Introducing South Australia*.³²² The eighteen page mini-history commenced with the colony’s settlement and ended with a 1955 mainland chart covering a comparative list of economic indicators, plus a list of nine references, including his major history of the colony.³²³

It is obvious, as intimated above, that Pike’s research had produced material previously neglected by earlier writers or not prioritised. He had woven his findings into popular newspaper articles having appeal to a wide readership and produced academic papers for a more selected readership. During all this time his family and university teaching demands continued.

As the decade approached its end, Pike continued teaching Asian history and shared third-year Australian and Pacific history with Ken Inglis, who had joined the staff in July 1956, and initially taught European history. Inglis remembers Pike, who ‘liked to tell stories with his head on one side’, as ‘an interesting mixture of the academic that he was, the minister

³²⁰ Ibid, vii: French worked in the School of Education at the University of Melbourne.

³²¹ Ibid, 47: Pike initially presented this paper at the first Theodore Fink memorial Seminar in Australian Education.

³²² Pike, D. ‘South Australia: A Historical Sketch’, in *Introducing South Australia*, ed. R. J. Best (Adelaide: Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, 1958) 1-18 (ANU Box 15, MS6889/109). Rupert Best was Reader in Virology, Waite Agricultural Research Institute, University of Adelaide.

³²³ Pike’s source was the Commonwealth Grants Commission Twenty-second Report, 1955.

he had been and the rouseabout and fence mender'.³²⁴ He described Pike's lecturing style as idiosyncratic, colloquial, well prepared but off-the-cuff and informal.³²⁵

Also in the late 1950s, interstate events were occurring that would bring changes to Pike's life in history. One of Pike's thesis examiners, Professor Sir Keith Hancock, had been appointed in early 1957 as Director and Professor of History in the School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University, following a time at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London.³²⁶ Hancock, along with others, planned to establish the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and Pike was to be later based at ANU as its founding editor.³²⁷ Linked with Hancock's endeavour to establish the *ADB* was his request for Ann Mozely (now Moyal), lately working in England as personal research assistant for Lord Beaverbrook, to join as Assistant Editor.³²⁸ Mozely arrived in Canberra in 1958 and the following year journeyed to Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne and Hobart to discuss with members of the university history departments in those cities, their co-operation with the early volumes of the proposed Dictionary.

Mozely's substantial five foolscap page report is essential in background information for state involvement in the Dictionary's establishment. In Adelaide she recorded that 'Douglas Pike is a strong advocate of the Dictionary plan and supports our ideas of centralization in Canberra ...' Mozely regarded Pike as 'the obvious choice' to be the University representative and 'to act in a consultative capacity'. Pike's recorded input into the meeting is substantial and further reference will be made to this document in the next

³²⁴ K. S. Inglis, 'Hugh Stretton's University of Adelaide, 1954-56', ed. J. Playford, *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No. 18 (1990) 11; K. Inglis - J. Calvert interview, 8 January 2002 (privately held).

³²⁵ Ibid, Inglis.

³²⁶ University of London Secretary/Librarian to V. A. Edgeloe, Registrar, University of Adelaide, 8 March 1957 (D.674/51): *Historical Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 28 (May 1957) 486.

³²⁷ G. Walsh, *Australia History & Historians* (Canberra, ADF and UNSW, 1997) 85-87; G. Walsh, 'Recording 'the Australian Experience': Hancock and the Australian Dictionary of Biography', *Keith Hancock: The Legacies of an Historian*, ed. D. A. Low (Melbourne, MUP, 2001) 249-268.

³²⁸ A. Moyal, *Breakfast with Beaverbrook: Memoirs of an Independent Woman* (Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1995) 116.

chapter.³²⁹ Pike left no personal record of the meeting but correspondence with Hancock in early 1959 showed his enthusiasm for the proposals. 'I like the project and your plans for tackling it. So does Inglis. We are each willing to keep a candle alight in our own small corners'. Pike offered Hancock copies of his weekly 'Lifting the Lid' articles but admitted that they were not documented; neither did he keep many notes.³³⁰ Whether he saw himself as more than chairman of the Provisional Working Party and at the foot of a ladder eventually leading to Canberra is unknown.

However, other interstate events were also on the horizon and these would precipitate his move to Canberra. Pike had been Reader at Adelaide for almost ten years and must have wondered about his future. He was in his early fifties and if a change was to occur it needed to be in the immediate future, otherwise he would be anchored in Adelaide. Would he ever become Professor of History at Adelaide or were there opportunities in other tertiary institutions? It cannot be ascertained whether he applied for many such positions, for Pike left no records of applications, and he was probably not well known in the eastern states at that time. Nevertheless, his junior associate Louis Green, who had commenced lecturing in history at Adelaide in 1958, clearly remembers Pike's 'persistent efforts to be appointed to a chair', and recollects that he applied unsuccessfully for such positions in the Universities of New England and New South Wales. Green adds his assessment that due to Pike's late arrival in academia and fragile health, there was exhibited a determination 'to chalk up achievements which would compensate for his delayed start as a scholar'.³³¹ The Foundation Chair of History at Monash University was taken by John Legge, whom Pike had briefly replaced in Western Australia while he obtained an Oxford doctorate and the chair of History at New

³²⁹ A. Mozely, 'Report of my journey to Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne and Hobart, August – Sept. 1959', Q31/ADB 67.

³³⁰ D. Pike to K. Hancock, 23 February 1959 (ADB 67/Q31).

³³¹ L. Green to J. Calvert, 8 July 2003 (privately held); R. Gibbs - J. Calvert interview, 5 April 2002 (privately held).

South Wales was filled by J. H. M. Salmon of New Zealand who had experience at Cambridge and at thirty-four was eight years younger than Pike.³³²

Pike's move from ten years as Reader in History to a Chair finally eventuated but it would necessitate leaving the mainland. The University of Tasmania advertised a forthcoming vacancy to its Chair of History early in 1960 due to its incumbent, Professor John McManners moving to the newly-created Chair of History in the University of Sydney.³³³ Pike flew to Hobart for an interview in September and in early October was offered the position as Chair. Notice that he would leave Adelaide was officially publicised later that same month. He commenced on Tasmania's pay-roll on 22 January 1961 at a salary of 4,000 pounds per annum.³³⁴

At the commencement of Pike's years as Reader at Adelaide in 1950 he was the third member of the department of History and Political Science. Ten years later when he left for Tasmania at the end of 1960, the History department with Hugh Stretton as professor numbered fourteen. Political Science was a separate entity under W. G. K. Duncan plus three other staff.³³⁵

³³² Historical Studies Australia & New Zealand, Vol. 9, No. 35 (November 1960) 333.

³³³ Advertisement, The University of Tasmania, Chair of History, A. S. Preshaw, Registrar, 24 March 1960 (privately held): Professor McManners had been Dean, Chaplain and Fellow at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford and commenced as Chair in Tasmania aged 39 in December 1956. *Historical Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 26 (May 1956) 251.

³³⁴ D. Pike to A. S. Preshaw, Registrar, University of Tasmania, 16 September 1960 (privately held): A. S. Preshaw, Registrar, University of Tasmania, to D. Pike, 5 October 1960 (privately held): D. Pike to V. Edgeloe, The Registrar, The University of Adelaide, 26 October 1960: V. Edgeloe to Pike, 1 November 1960: Vice-Chancellor, K. Isles, University of Tasmania to Vice-Chancellor, H. Basten, University of Adelaide, 12 December 1960, University of Adelaide archives.

³³⁵ The history department listed Professor H. Stretton; Readers D. H. Pike and K. S. Inglis; senior lecturers H. S. K. Kent, K. Woodroffe, G. F. Rudé; lecturers W. A. P. Phillips, J. T. Gilchrist, M. A. Jack, H. G. Kinloch, W. F. Mandle, T. G. Wilson; tutors L. D. Atkinson, L. F. Green; *Calendar of the University of Adelaide for the year 1960*, Adelaide, 53 & 54.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 100 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 13: Dr. Douglas Pike (c.1957)

CHAPTER 5: ACROSS BASS STRAIT

Most Australian history is about landmen. Most of their novels, films and art depict the lonely outback, and the wide open spaces are supposed to have made an air-minded nation... Adventurous boys do not run away to sea; they go bush instead. The great ocean wastes set few Australians dreaming, yet the sea that isolates them from the rest of the world has helped to shape their history.³³⁶

Pike's application for the Chair of History at the University of Tasmania consisted of two foolscap pages and described the development of his professional expertise, his academic philosophy in teaching, plus his existing and proposed writing. The department head at Adelaide, Professor Hugh Stretton, then in London, and Professor C. M. H. Clark of Canberra University College were nominated as referees. The name of Adelaide's Vice-Chancellor, Henry Basten, was added for his opinion of Pike's capacity to administer a department.³³⁷ His CV portrayed his early life in China, the period on the land, and time in church ministry, then his university years in study and lecturing. He described his teaching as ranging 'from World History to Modern European, but mostly in Far Eastern and Australian History'. His return to Adelaide from Perth in 1950, after teaching for a short period at the University of Western Australia, included reference to responsibilities for supervising most History Honours dissertations and post-graduate theses, plus 'giving Honours seminars in the problems of historical research and in historiography'.³³⁸ Pike added that his nine months study leave in 1953-4 had a two-pronged purpose. Firstly, to pursue his own research, directed to his forthcoming book on the colonization of South Australia 1829-1857, *Paradise*

³³⁶ D. H. Pike, *Australia: The Quiet Continent* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962) 1.

³³⁷ Later Sir Henry Basten: W. G. K. Duncan, & R. A. Leonard, *The University of Adelaide 1874-1974* (Adelaide, Rigby Ltd., 1973), 161.

³³⁸ D. Pike to A. S. Preshaw, Registrar, The University of Tasmania, 14 June 1960 (privately held).

of *Dissent*, but secondly to ‘see something of universities in South-East Asia and the United Kingdom’.³³⁹

Pike’s research discoveries during that overseas period had been included in his significant 1957 volume on early South Australian history, but nothing new was added in his application to Tasmania. He repeated the same observations from his report and while this is understandable as a basis, it is regrettable that no additions were forthcoming to illustrate ways in which his growing historical scholarship had been integrated in his teaching.³⁴⁰ Pike’s developing philosophy would form the warp and woof of future articles and lectures, but was integrated into his total writing and teaching rather than highlighted. To my knowledge, this is the only official occasion on which he wrote about his overseas visit apart from the initial report. Now he needed to project his understandings of history from the perspective of facing a new working challenge as a Head of Department. His responsibilities in organizing staff positions in Tasmania were listed as leading a team comprising: ‘a senior lecturer, three lecturers and a graduate research assistant’.³⁴¹

The transition from ten years as Reader at the University of Adelaide, to the Chair of History at the University of Tasmania initiated a change of responsibility that was embryonic in early 1961. There is no hard evidence to suggest that he needed to relocate except that Tasmania apparently offered the only opportunity for a Chair in History at that time. Or was there a hidden frustration in remaining at Adelaide? While there is no documentary evidence to suggest that colonial descendants were muttering about the ‘lid being lifted’ on their ancestors in Pike’s 1957/8 newspaper articles in the *Adelaide News*, unconfirmed comments suggest otherwise.³⁴² It would not be surprising if later posterity were scandalized about the

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Advertisement, The University of Tasmania, Chair of History, A. S. Preshaw, *Registrar*, 24 March 1960 (privately held).

³⁴² M. Roe to J. Calvert, 25 February 2002 (privately held).

‘lid being lifted’, but whether any murmurings reached Pike’s ears cannot be ascertained. From one perspective, Pike no doubt realised that his position as Reader, while academically significant, was not a stepping-stone to any higher position in Adelaide. From another viewpoint and in retrospect, it seems a strange decision to leave a highly regarded history department and disrupt his domestic life, including two teenage sons at high school.

Stranger still was the move to the island state when the University of Tasmania was still ‘deeply wracked by the aftermath of the Orr case’.³⁴³ This situation involved the dismissal in 1956 of Sydney Sparkes Orr, the foundation Professor of Philosophy at the university, because of his alleged affair with a female student. The academic community generally abhorred the dismissal as a matter of principle and expressed their opposition by imposing an international ban on the chair of philosophy.³⁴⁴ Although other university departments, including history, were not directly implicated, ‘positions at the University of Tasmania were regarded with some diffidence by prospective applicants’.³⁴⁵ In 1988, seventeen years after Pike commenced at Hobart, Tasmanian historian Richard Davis, who wrote the University Centenary history, further described a situation which raises questions as to why Pike would consider moving south unless, behind the scenes, he was being influenced by Hancock with the bait of a new and prestigious position plus a professorship at ANU. ‘The Orr episode which beset the University of Tasmania for the decade 1956-1966 made the institution a pariah in the eyes of many outside academics’.³⁴⁶ Disagreement over lack of due

³⁴³ Ibid: W. Phillips - J. Calvert interview, 21 January 2002 (privately held); G. C. Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia, Vol. 5, The Middle Way, 1942-1995* (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, Second Edition, 2001) 118.

³⁴⁴ H. Doyle, ‘Orr case’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 488, 9; W. H. C. Eddy, *Orr* (Brisbane: Jacaranda Publishers, 1961); C. Pybus, *Seduction and Consent: a case of gross moral turpitude* (Victoria, Mandarin, 1994).

³⁴⁵ R. Davis, ‘Tasmania – Smallness and Isolation’, in *Ideas for Histories of Universities in Australia*, eds. F. B. Smith & P. Crichton (Division of Historical Studies Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1990).

³⁴⁶ R. Davis, ‘The Royal Commission and the Orr Case: The University of Tasmania in the 1950s and 1960s: Problems of a University Historian’, in *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers & Proceedings*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (December 1988) 146.

process by the university, plus involvement by the state government, press, judiciary, and church leaders kept the matter in the news. Neither the general population nor the rest of the university were immune from the fall-out as the Orr case permeated both Tasmanian and mainland conversations. In addition, there arose suspicion regarding any applicants for lecturing positions about whom the university administration might have questions. Pike's predecessor, John McManners, had been prevented from appointing Danish-born, English-educated, George Rudé to his staff on the grounds that he was a communist. Hugh Stretton and Ken Inglis moved quickly to obtain him for their own Adelaide department.³⁴⁷

Pike did not seem perturbed by any Tasmanian 'fall-out'. This was his opportunity for advancement and he took it, even though his tenure was not to be lengthy. That his thinking was directed beyond Tasmania and focused on his future contribution in Australian historiography seems quite possible, for he was aware of the proposed Dictionary plans in Canberra.³⁴⁸ Similarly, any suggestion that his hopes were fixed on obtaining the Chair at Adelaide is conjecture, although he expressed a 'bitter-sweet' sentiment about going to Hobart, signifying disappointment that elevation to a chair had taken so long.³⁴⁹ His friend and colleague Hugh Stretton, who was sixteen years younger, had been appointed to Adelaide's history chair in 1954, continuing in the position until he relinquished the post in 1968 and became Reader, with more time for writing.³⁵⁰ By that time Pike was sixty years of age, a professor in his own right, and firmly ensconced in Canberra as editor at the *ADB*.

However, Pike's move to the Chair of History at the University of Tasmania raises several questions without obvious answers. It was a step up the academic ladder for him, but a

³⁴⁷ L. Green to J. Calvert, 8 July 2003 (privately held): *Historical Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 33 (November 1959) 115; J. Friguglietti, 'Rudé, George Frederick Elliot (1910–1993)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004). <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53299>

³⁴⁸ R. Gollan, 'Canberra History Conference', *Historical Studies Australia & New Zealand*, Vol. 8, No. 29 (November 1957) 80-92.

³⁴⁹ W. Phillips - J. Calvert interview, 21 January 2002 (privately held).

³⁵⁰ G. Davison, 'Stretton, Hugh', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 620.

difficult transition for his family who were well settled in their own lower-hills area home, in Glen Osmond, seven kilometres south-east from the city of Adelaide.³⁵¹ While still at Adelaide and busy with relocation arrangements he was faced with unexpected staffing requirements in Hobart. A teaching vacancy in history had to be filled with the original five candidates soon reduced to three, including two based overseas.³⁵² Michael Roe, who joined the lecturing team later in 1961, recalls that of the existing staff, one lecturer was suffering long-term illness, and another changed his university involvement to part-time.³⁵³ Pike received copies of the candidates' applications. Two had applied to Adelaide the previous year, so he was familiar with their papers. In assessing the situation he believed the need in Tasmania for a European historian was paramount and mentioned a senior tutor who had taught with him in the Adelaide department for a few years, suggesting he make a belated application for the position. There was no doubt that Pike wanted a colleague whom he knew and added, 'If this appears at all irregular I am certain that the end will justify the means'.³⁵⁴ He also approached a post-graduate student, Jack Cross, whom he was supervising, to accompany him as research assistant but Cross remained in Adelaide to pursue work on the Northern Territory.³⁵⁵ Pike's choice of a colleague was Louis Green, who had commenced tutoring in history at Adelaide in 1958 at the invitation of fellow staff member Ken Inglis. Green was reluctant about leaving Adelaide after such a short tenure but he was persuaded because of the opening to teach European history. He obtained the position and began work in Hobart a few months later.³⁵⁶

³⁵¹ 14 Bagot Street, Glen Osmond: D. Pike to A. S. Preshaw, Registrar, The University of Tasmania, 14 June 1960 (privately held).

³⁵² A. S. Preshaw, Registrar, The University of Tasmania, to Pike, 24 October 1960 (privately held).

³⁵³ M. Roe to J. Calvert, 25 February 2002, (privately held).

³⁵⁴ D. Pike to A. S. Preshaw, Registrar, The University of Tasmania, 26 October 1960 (privately held).

³⁵⁵ J. Cross - J. Calvert interview, 12 December 2001 (privately held): J. Cross, 'Douglas Pike and my research into Northern Territory history', in *The Friends of South Australia's Archives Newsletter* (January 2001) 13.

³⁵⁶ L. Green to J. Calvert, 8 July 2003 (privately held).

Pike arranged to travel from Melbourne with his two sons, Douglas and Andrew, plus his prestigious dark-coloured Humber Hawk car, on the 'Princess of Tasmania' on 23 January 1961. The three males arranged to stay with a university colleague until a furnished house near the university in Sandy Bay Road, became available for rent in March when his wife Olive would join the family.³⁵⁷ Whatever the excitement felt by the three Pikes in the novelty of crossing Bass Strait was soon clouded by domestic problems. Fifteen-year-old younger son Andrew had attended the local Linden Park Primary School before joining his elder brother at Adelaide's Scotch College, situated south of the city in Torrens Park, a few miles from their home. Both boys attended the Friends' School in Hobart, but seventeen-year-old Douglas had difficulty settling in a strange city after most of his formative teenage years at Scotch College.³⁵⁸ Accommodation needs were initially met by the purchase of a house on the Derwent Estuary in Grange Road, Taroona, south of Hobart and adjacent to the convict-built shot tower. But the property proved too small and Pike's renovation skills changed the garage into a study. Pike himself did not initially feel particularly at home in his new environment and was dismayed by the overall university situation regarding the Orr affair, for 'the university was still badly disturbed'. This may explain why he limited his teaching to Imperialism for fourth-year students, plus administration and marking. Despite that he worked assiduously with Michael Roe and Louis Green to organise department teaching requirements and maintain links with his contacts at the ANU to obtain Ph. D. scholarships for the better graduates.³⁵⁹

Pike's ambition for a Chair in history resulting in family relocation to Hobart after the settled years of Adelaide seems, in retrospect, to have been a holding pattern, a means to an

³⁵⁷ D. Pike to A. S. Preshaw, Registrar, The University of Tasmania, 26 October 1960 (privately held); D. Pike to A. Harrison, 30 November 1960 (privately held); P. Howell - J. Calvert interview, 26 March 2002 (privately held).

³⁵⁸ Andrew Pike - J. Calvert interview, 9 January 2002 (privately held): Both boys had been born in Adelaide, Douglas on 23 February 1943 and Andrew 1 January 1946.

³⁵⁹ K. Cable to J. Calvert, 30 July 2002 (privately held); Louis Green to J. Calvert, 8 July 2003 (privately held).

end that would again affect his family. Unlike Michael Roe, who graduated from both Melbourne and Cambridge, Pike did not take up research in Tasmanian history and on the two occasions he addressed the Tasmanian Historical Research Association, in August 1961 and September 1963, he discussed mainland issues, although in the second paper he referred to Tasmania.³⁶⁰ This is understandable given that his main research had largely omitted Tasmania.

The above comments portray one side of the story and must be balanced with observations from men with whom he worked. Rather than impose direction on his lecturers, Pike was supportive, sympathetic, generous, and considerate, giving them a free hand in teaching. These characteristics linked with common-sense practical qualities he displayed both as an academic and a private citizen. He was also known to be proud and stoical with little time for any pretentious or attention seekers, but appreciative of ordinary, hard-working people who made no fuss. He was regarded by Louis Green, as ‘an excellent mentor’ when they shared the marking of examination papers, and ‘a very good head of department’.³⁶¹

From a student viewpoint, Decie Denholm was an undergraduate and recalls that Pike rarely gave lectures, ‘only when a particular lecturer failed to turn up’. Undergraduate essays often required students to use only primary sources for biographical presentations, ‘he was training us as future contributors to *ADB*: smart move’.³⁶² Peter Howell was one of four doing History Honours when Pike arrived. Pike initially mystified his students with awkward questions which clouded ‘the point of what he was getting at regarding Australian history. Six months later everything became clear as the seed sown burst into understanding’.³⁶³ That

³⁶⁰ D. H. Pike, ‘The Smallholders’ Place in the Australian Tradition’, *Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (December 1962) 28-33; ‘Wakefield, Waste Land and Empire’, *THRA*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (March 1965) 75-83.

³⁶¹ L. Green to J. Calvert, 8 July 2003 (privately held).

³⁶² D. Denholm to J. Calvert, 11 October 2002 (privately held).

³⁶³ P. Howell - J. Calvert interview, 26 March 2002 (privately held). Howell was formerly senior Reader in History at Flinders University.

same year, Pike arranged for ANU Professor Manning Clark, visiting to research material for the first volume of his *A History of Australia*, to give four lectures.³⁶⁴ At that time, Clark's approach to Australian history was new both to Pike and his students. Clark envisaged three competing philosophies running through Australian history: the traditional Anglican Protestant view of the world, the Catholic view and the Enlightenment ideas of the eighteenth century. This injection of new thinking may have inspired Pike, who gave virtually all the tutorials for Honours students. In addition he sprang an examination on his Honours students without warning and Howell remembers with surprise, 'he gave us three questions and said, 'you've got two hours to go away and write the answers to these and come back''.³⁶⁵ These memories link with younger son Andrew's recollections when in conversation with some of his father's friends, both colleagues and students, not necessarily confined to Tasmania: 'Dad could be a fairly severe teacher. He expected his students to work hard and to take notes rigorously and to be up to scratch with their work'. Andrew recollects an anecdotal story and true or not, it illustrates the Douglas Pike legend. His father would often ask a question at the beginning of a tutorial and expect his students to have done their reading, and to know the answer. Silence would ensue for up to twenty minutes because he wasn't prepared to continue until someone spoke.³⁶⁶

Peter Howell and Louis Green agree on many of their recollections of Pike's characteristics during his Tasmanian years. Howell remembers Pike as slow in speech with numerous pauses and a very dry manner. When Howell spoke with Pike's former colleagues at Adelaide some years later they suggested Pike's personality had changed to some degree after his heart attacks in 1954. He had previously been more extroverted and dynamic. Howell also remembers the change in Pike's manner when he addressed an audience of about one

³⁶⁴ C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, Vol. 1 (Melbourne, MUP, 1962).

³⁶⁵ D. Denholm to J. Calvert, 11 October 2002 (privately held); P. Howell - J. Calvert interview, 26 March 2002 (privately held).

³⁶⁶ Andrew Pike to J. Calvert, 9 January 2002 (privately held).

hundred at the Tasmanian Historical Research Association, where ‘he seemed a different person because you could imagine him as a fine upstanding preacher because his exposition was dynamic and dramatic, theatrical, passionate at times ...’ Green recalls Pike as quiet, reserved, shy and very much an Australian who spoke in a deliberate manner as though weighing his words. Denholm adds that Pike was always quietly in control but never argumentative³⁶⁷ However, the change in communication method between private and public presentation is normal, particularly when addressing a large audience. Also, despite any apparent slowing-down by Pike through his health crises in the 1950s he had obtained medical clearance for the Tasmanian position.³⁶⁸

Pike continued to work hard both in his professional life and in his enjoyment of manual tasks like home renovation, making furniture including tables, desks, beds and a table tennis table for his sons, painting house walls, including for his friends, and most of all, building stone walls in every home he owned.³⁶⁹ During these early months in Tasmania, Pike’s first piece of writing from the island state appeared in an Adelaide publication.³⁷⁰ There seems no doubt that it had been compiled in Adelaide from his doctoral research. The article was a comprehensive account of correspondence, plans, newspaper articles, parliamentary debates, and law reform matters relative to the significance of land and property in South Australia. The twenty-page monograph highlighted the roles of early colonial personalities like Wakefield, Hindmarsh, Fisher, Hanson and Torrens, plus legal identities such as Cooper, Boothby and Gwynne.

³⁶⁷ P. Howell - J. Calvert interview, 26 March 2002 (privately held); L. Green to J. Calvert, 8 July 2003 (privately held); D. Denholm to J. Calvert, 11 October 2002 (privately held).

³⁶⁸ D. Pike to Professor Isles, (handwritten letter), 19 October 1960 (privately held).

³⁶⁹ M. Roe to J. Calvert, 25 February 2002, (privately held); W. Birman to J. Calvert, 30 October 2002 (privately held); D. Pike Jr. to J. Calvert, 18 August 2003 (privately held).

³⁷⁰ D. H. Pike, ‘Introduction of the Real Property Act in South Australia’, in *The Adelaide Law Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (June 1961) 169-189.

The article contained one hundred and fifty-four footnotes, with Pike's choice of words and manner of expression making interesting reading. He set the scene in his opening sentences:

In its beginnings South Australia was a land job. The first proposal to found a settlement on its shores promised the pick of sites to venturesome speculators and a century later land was still the major sphere of investment. Of course other promises gilded the lily. A society free from the stain of convictism, early self-government and abundant supplies of labouring immigrants encouraged the growth of a yeoman proprietary. After only twenty years South Australia with 4,000 farmers in its population of 109,000, was being vaunted as the farinaceous colony and granary of Australia.³⁷¹

The paper indicated Pike's in-depth investigations of legal decisions and at times, public uncertainties. It contained extensive references to *SA. Parliamentary Papers*, and demonstrated both his investigative skill and ability to give legal archival material in straight forward vocabulary. The account gave succinct information regarding the background and beginnings of the colony and stressed the particular focus on land, with 'many of the choicest sites owned by absentees'.³⁷² Pike's concluding sentence which adroitly summed up his 'land job' presentation, contained footnote references to the Real Property Act amendments covering the years 1869 to 1936. 'Periodically the Real Property Act was amended, but the Lands Titles office went on from strength to strength lending a seal of respectability to a community which measured social status by landownership'.³⁷³

³⁷¹ Ibid, 169.

³⁷² Ibid, 169.

³⁷³ Ibid, 189.

Around the same time, changes were afoot that would increase his work load and lead to another professional and domestic family relocation. Pike was regarded as ‘a brilliant and dogged researcher... with a style of writing that was simple, direct and clear’. He owed much of this ability to Hugh Stretton, whom Pike asked to check his writing style when he was preparing *Paradise of Dissent*.³⁷⁴ His competency would be demonstrated in editing rather than writing history in a return to the mainland and a new university environment.

The first hint of re-location appeared from Pike’s pen the same year as his previous contribution but from a different perspective. Entitled: *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, it answered previous questions as to Pike’s thinking and direction in moving to Tasmania, and his succinct four- paragraph account shed light on the Dictionary’s embryonic development over the previous decade, plus his own increasing involvement in the proposed Dictionary’s organisation.³⁷⁵ Why Pike announced his new historical writing priority in *Business Archives and History* is unknown, except that its readership may have been wider than regular academic interest and could generate financial consideration. His choice of language was succinct: ‘Whether men make history or history makes men is a question for argument, but there can be no debate that biography is a proper study’.³⁷⁶ A few months earlier he had received notice that the ANU Council had approved his appointment as Editor of the *ADB*, ‘with the status and title of Professor’ and a salary of 4,600 pounds per annum. Although the position was not full-time until early 1964, the article was a further indication of Pike’s future.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ L. Green to J. Calvert, 8 July 2003 (privately held): H. Stretton - J. Calvert interview, 4 October 2001 (privately held).

³⁷⁵ D. Pike, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography’, *Business Activities and History*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Sydney, University of Sydney, August 1962), 185-186, ADB 69, Q31: the journal name was altered to *Australian Economic History Review* in February 1967, ADB 69, Q31.

³⁷⁶ Ibid, 185.

³⁷⁷ R. A. Hohnen to D. Pike, 18 May 1962, ANU 1272 and NLA MS 6869/1 Box 7.

At the end of that year Pike's first address to the Tasmanian Research Association, given in August 1961, was published.³⁷⁸ Here are echoed the outback experiences of his bush years. Ranging across brief illustrations from the pastoral industry, pioneer families, and agriculture, Pike, by contrast with his overall picture, focused on the contribution of 'the smallholder', farming a much smaller agricultural holding than a recognised farm. He depicted 'the smallholder as (was) a family man, living however reluctantly under the civilizing influence of women and children. Where the nomad was escapist, the smallholder stayed to face domestic crises, often with the courage and understanding that marked his greater emotional stability'.³⁷⁹ Echoing the colonial significance of his *Paradise of Dissent*, Pike referred to the 'peculiar origins' of various Australian states and their obvious similarities, but insisted that 'much more State history must be written before we can begin to think of Australia as a whole'.³⁸⁰

Pike's more general contribution to Australian history, *Australia: the Quiet Continent*, had been brewing for a decade and was also published that year in a cloth edition.³⁸¹ Comprising eleven chapters, twenty-four illustrated plates (photos), eleven maps and four diagrams, its two hundred and thirty-three pages of text concluded with a ten page index, but no bibliography. Two undated introductory chapters entitled 'A Remote Continent' and 'A Lonely Land' set the scene for the volume, and both captions describe Pike's themes. 'The long Australian run got only the dregs of British shipping while quicker profits were to be had elsewhere,' portrays 'A Remote Continent'.³⁸² Pike illustrates his title 'A Lonely Land' in his precise choice of words: 'Distance and isolation within Australia are the counterparts of its remoteness from the rest of the world'.³⁸³

³⁷⁸ D. Pike, 'The Smallholders' Place in the Australian Tradition', *THRA*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1962) 28-33.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 31.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 28.

³⁸¹ D. Pike, *Australia: The Quiet Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

³⁸² *Ibid*, 15.

³⁸³ *Ibid*, 25.

In his review, Pike's associate at ANU, Laurie Fitzhardinge, commends Pike for attempting 'to think out anew the whole pattern of Australian history and, by implication, of Australian society' ... he characterised Pike's book as 'the most original and in many aspects the best one-volume history now available. It is packed with interesting and significant matter never before brought between one pair of covers'.³⁸⁴ Another ANU historian, John Molony, used the book to teach a first year history course at Duntroon Military College in 1965.³⁸⁵ The review by H. D. Nicholson of Sydney described Pike's introductory setting: 'Rather like Drysdale-Nolan backgrounds, our environment is seen as colourful but bleak. In the first chapter Australia is discovered, like a secret given up by the sea'. University of New South Wales senior lecturer, P. J. O'Farrell, wrote a short single-paragraph for an overseas review, which included: 'Designed, it would seem, as an introduction for those who do not know Australia, it serves this purpose admirably'.³⁸⁶ Another Sydney academic, Hazel King, expressed more critical views and wrote that the purpose of the book was 'difficult to determine', adding, that 'the treatment tends to be superficial. Too often we are told merely what happened; too seldom why, or even how it happened'.³⁸⁷ Pike's final chapter entitled 'Destiny', commenced with his typical quirky language, 'The Australian story is something like a fun-fair. The same things happen again and again... How can a fun-fair give a young nation an inspiring history'?³⁸⁸ Between the extreme ends of the book are eight chapters listed chronologically from 1788 until 1968 with one-word titles each aimed 'at typifying a twenty-year period'.³⁸⁹ Pike's theme was the growth of the nation that had been his home for almost forty-years, for he never returned to the country of his birth. His chapters illustrate the

³⁸⁴ L. F. Fitzhardinge, *Historical Studies Australia & New Zealand*, Vol. 10, No. 39 (November 1962) 382-383.

³⁸⁵ J. Molony to J. Calvert, 29 May 2002 (privately held).

³⁸⁶ H. D. Nicholson, 'Douglas Pike. *Australia, The Quiet Continent*', *Business Archives and History*, Vol. II, No. 2 (1962) 166-167; P. J. O'Farrell, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. XV, No. 59 (March 1966) 95; See H. Doyle, 'P. J. O'Farrell', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 478.

³⁸⁷ H. King, 'Review', *Royal Australian Historical Society: Journal and proceedings*, Vol. 48, Part 3 (July 1962) 234.

³⁸⁸ D. H. Pike, *Australia* (1962) 223.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 166.

steady development of colonies ‘isolated by vast distances... It also eschews the traditional interest in early lawlessness and later violence in the outback, and overemphasis of New South Wales and Victoria’.³⁹⁰

In 1966 Cambridge University Press published a paperback edition and their assessment of the enterprise showed significant sales circulation including United States and Spanish editions. In addition over seventy newspapers and journals including several in Europe received review copies.³⁹¹ Why did Pike elect to call his book, *The Quiet Continent*? John Hirst comments: ‘The quietness was a comparative judgment and its sources were explored in a penetrating analysis at the end of the narrative account’.³⁹² It is my contention that two themes, one national and the other personal, are evident in this volume. Firstly, Pike was describing the sober battles to nationhood of isolated colonies, the tenacity of struggling immigrants to conquer the land and develop financial independence, and the desire of the Aussie for a ‘fair go’. The themes of ‘isolation, economic crisis, struggle for survival,’ are presented realistically, not negatively, and enhance the volume’s appeal for both school children and adults. One criticism from twenty-first century criteria is that the book’s index reveals only brief reference to Aboriginals. However, Aboriginal deaths are treated in the book (p.36), and Pike was writing at the end of an era which largely neglected indigenous peoples. In contrast, the decade from the late 1960s was to signify the development of Aboriginal history ‘from a neglected to a highly significant and well-known field within Australian historiography’.³⁹³

³⁹⁰ S. C. McCulloch, ‘Australia, The Quiet Continent’, *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (March 1963) 193-194: See also R. Pascoe, *The Manufacture of Australian History* (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1979) chapter 4, 97 & 98.

³⁹¹ P. Oakeshott, CUP to D. Pike, 27 April 1967 (privately held); H. Hodgson, (Foreign Rights) CUP, 6 January 1969 (privately held): See *Aberdeen Press & Journal* (30 April 1966) 3.

³⁹² J. Hirst, ‘Pike, Douglas Henry’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 511.

³⁹³ A. Curthoys, ‘Aboriginal History’, *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 3.

Secondly, in his final chapter called 'Destiny' there are glimpses of Pike's trajectory through his own life and battles. An earlier chapter in this thesis depicted what is known of his twelve years as a rouseabout and shearer on properties in the Cassilis-Merriwa district of New South Wales. The question of whether he is auto biographical in describing the 'nomadic bushman' echoes descriptions that ring with authenticity from personal experience:

From early years the 'typical Australian' was thought to be the nomadic bushman. In different decades he was shepherd, stockman, shearer and drover, but always an independent wage-earner with no permanent place of his own. Stifled by farm life and urban traditions and fearful of endearing family ties, his outback world was almost wholly masculine, rough and full of improvisation.³⁹⁴

Writing about Australia's 'destiny' he looks back on his personal life in two countries and five Australian states. His own 'destiny' is about to be fulfilled in one final move to the nation's capital and the editorial desk.

Official correspondence towards his move to Canberra was first intimated in Tasmania at the start of 1962 when Pike, without stating formal reasons, resigned from three positions: the University Library Committee, Publications Committee and the Schools Board.³⁹⁵ That same month he replied to Sir Keith Hancock's invitation accepting the position as General Editor, Chief Executive and Academic Officer of the embryonic Australian Dictionary of Biography.³⁹⁶ Hancock had returned to his homeland in 1957 after many years overseas to be the director of the Research School of Social Sciences at ANU.³⁹⁷ Several months later, less than two years after his Hobart appointment, Pike resigned his chair

³⁹⁴ D. H. Pike, *Australia* (1962) 229.

³⁹⁵ D. Pike to Registrar, The University of Tasmania, 9 January 1962.

³⁹⁶ W. K. Hancock to Pike, 26 January 1962; Pike to Hancock, 31 January 1962, ADB 68/Q31, NBAC.

³⁹⁷ W. K. Hancock, *Professing History* (Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1976) 23 & 30; D. A. Low, 'Introduction, William Keith Hancock 1898-1988, Historian,' in D. A. Low, ed. *Keith Hancock: The Legacies of an Historian*, (Melbourne, MUP, 2001) 4.

effective in another fourteen months, at the end of 1963. He added his 'deep appreciation' for permission to have spent time on *ADB* matters during this period. Council's reply made clear the reason Pike continued until December 1963, for he had accepted the editorship of the *ADB* conditional upon continuing as Professor in Hobart throughout 1962 and 1963.³⁹⁸

It seems clear that Pike's reasons for delaying his move to the national capital were both ethical and financial. His terms of appointment to Hobart included a proviso: 'If the Professor resigns within two years of taking up his duties, he will be required to refund the allowances in full, and if he resigns after two years but within three years, he will be required to refund half the allowances'. Pike's acceptance of the position was dated 17 October 1960 and he finished at the University of Tasmania in December 1963, two months after the minimum period that avoided repayment.³⁹⁹ Public notification of Pike's appointment to ANU appeared six months before he left Tasmania, stating that in addition to local university responsibilities, Pike had been involved in editorial duties from February 1962 which necessitated frequent visits to Canberra.⁴⁰⁰

Two more publications were produced and a further oral presentation was delivered while Pike was still in Tasmania. Firstly, a review of Ross Border's book, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872*, in which Pike pointed to some of the Anglican Canon's 'inaccurate and insufficient' references.⁴⁰¹ Pike's final review sentence illustrates his pointed use of descriptive language in referring to Border's South Australian chapter. 'Why, for example (p. 211) should the SPCK be wrongly saddled with responsibility for an official Colonial Chaplain whom they helped once but never had to support, or unhappily reminded of a

³⁹⁸ Pike to K. S. Isles, Vice Chancellor, The University of Tasmania, 22 October 1962: K. S. Isles to Pike, 30 October 1962.

³⁹⁹ A. S. Preshaw, Registrar, The University of Tasmania to Pike, 4 October 1960.

⁴⁰⁰ *Launceston Examiner* (20 June 1963) 12.

⁴⁰¹ R. Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872* (London, SPCK 1962): Border also ignored 'some recent and relevant secondary sources', including Pike's *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-57*. NLA 6869/15.

generous subsidy for a pre-fabricated church that was shipped but never built’? Secondly, A *Critical Comparison of what some historians have written about land legislation*.⁴⁰² Less than two pages in length there is no record as to its use but the theme of land was again prominent: ‘The relation of men to their plots of land is the core of social history’.⁴⁰³ Pike listed four historians in his bibliography, but omitted footnotes.⁴⁰⁴ Establishing land tenure in eleventh century England, moving through crown land and parliamentary control issues, then New South Wales, Wakefield’s input and Aboriginal tribal territories, Pike’s brief summary gave a trenchant picture regarding the historical significance of land. To extract so much information in such a short presentation demonstrated Pike’s sparing use of words: further preparation for his editorial role.

In the second half of 1963, three months before the family transferred to Australia’s capital city, Pike again spoke on the subject of land, this time to the island state’s Historical Research Association meeting, held at the Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston.⁴⁰⁵ Introducing the Wakefield family and featuring E. G. Wakefield as the main focus in the context of ‘waste land and empire’, Pike stimulated his audience’s attention with colourful sentences, that again ‘lifted the lid’, this time on a former criminal who was influential in South Australian colonisation. ‘Edward Gibbon (b. 20 March 1796) became a precocious little exhibitionist, conscious too early that his good looks and wiles could win every childish wish’.⁴⁰⁶

No doubt the audience appreciated Pike’s lively oral communication, for irony and wit are evident in his penmanship. ‘... the commonest character given to him (Wakefield) by

⁴⁰² D. Pike, *A Critical Comparison of what some historians have written about land legislation* (18 March 1963) 1 & 2, NLA 6869, Folder 57.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴⁰⁴ ‘Land Tenure’, from the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, plus S. H. Roberts, T. A. Coghlan, B. Fitzpatrick and E. Shann.

⁴⁰⁵ D. H. Pike, ‘Wakefield, Waste Land and Empire’, *Tasmanian Historical Research Association: Papers and Proceedings*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (March 1965) 75-83. (A paper read before the Association on 14 September 1963.)

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 75.

contemporaries was that it was safest to be his enemy... His latest biography (Paul Bloomfield, 1961) makes him “the builder of the British Commonwealth”. Before accepting that eulogy, I should like to be sure first that he ever built a colony’.⁴⁰⁷

The family move back across Bass Strait and on to Canberra resulted in the Pikes being domiciled for their first year in rented university accommodation.⁴⁰⁸ The Pikes bought land in the suburb of Campbell and built a new, eighteen square, three bedroom house featuring four courtyards, including a centre court, designed by Theo Bischoff, a well known Canberra architect. Pike as usual enjoyed involvement in stonewall construction, and Olive’s source of pleasure consisted in giving attention to the garden. Their two sons settled in to a further change of life. Douglas Jr. worked at the offices of the Government Superannuation Board and Andrew commenced university studies at ANU.⁴⁰⁹

Pike’s new task at the *ADB* editorial desk was to be the climax of his academic writing career, but in order to understand the context of his work it is necessary to turn back the clock to appreciate both the preparation and the personalities that had been involved in the proposed dictionary at ANU prior to Pike’s appointment. Pike’s place in South Australian history had been cemented in the way his writing portrayed the foundation of the colony and its early development. His place in Australian history and historiography was growing during his period in Tasmania due to his frequent flights to Canberra to engage in preparatory work as nominated founding-editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

Before examining Pike’s main contribution to Australian history and historiography, it is necessary to note other events that were paramount in his relocation to Canberra and proposed sphere of research and writing. Preparatory to his new position in the nation’s

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, 83.

⁴⁰⁸ Liversidge Street, on the outskirts of the ANU, overlooking the newly filled Lake Burley Griffin: The Pikes also lived at 23 Lawson Crescent, Acton before moving into their own home, NLA MS 6869, Box 7.

⁴⁰⁹ Andrew Pike to J. Calvert, 24 July 2006 (privately held): The Pike home was in Patey Street, Campbell, see A. Whitelaw, *The Canberra Times* (4 June 1968) 12.

capital were three areas that separately provided a background and together formed a framework for the successful venture that was to cap Pike's career. Of significance was firstly the development of Australian history, secondly the foundation of the nation's capital and linking them, the growth of Australian universities. Without each of these streams intertwining at stated periods during previous years, the significance of Pike's decade in Canberra would have been vastly different and of less value in the achievements of his life and contribution to Australian historiography. Alongside these three areas, were friends and colleagues whose contributions and influence were essential in the development of Pike's crowning achievement as founding editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

First, Australian history writing has been growing for two hundred years. The initial written accounts can be identified with chronicles recounting the voyage of the First Fleet to the colony's east coast in 1788 and the first years of settlement.⁴¹⁰ As regards teaching this subject, the Victorian historian Geoffrey Serle records: 'The first university course in Australian history was taught at Stanford, California, in 1907-8; the first full course in Australia was introduced at Melbourne in 1927 but it did not become a standard annual course, there or anywhere else, until 1946'.⁴¹¹ Alongside these developments was the early twentieth-century emphasis on local research and the writing of Australian history by two English-born professors, George Arnold Wood and Ernest Scott, of the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne.⁴¹² Wood was the first historian to hold a full-time professorship at an Australian university and initially taught all the courses by himself.⁴¹³ Along with these two

⁴¹⁰ R. M. Crawford, 'History', in *The Humanities in Australia: A Survey with special reference to the Universities*, ed. A. G. Price (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1959) 148-160; G. Walsh, *Australia History & Historians*, Australian Defence Force Academy (Canberra, The University of New South Wales, 1997) 4. The subject of Aboriginal history does not come within the parameters of this thesis and is not examined, but references to Aboriginals will be included when cited in Pike's historiography. Aboriginal history covering some of Pike's lifetime is detailed in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 1-15.

⁴¹¹ G. Serle, *From deserts the Prophets Come* (Melbourne, Heinemann, 1974) 151.

⁴¹² S. Macintyre & J. Thomas, eds. 'Introduction', in *The Discovery of Australian History 1890-1939* (Melbourne, MUP, 1995) 7.

⁴¹³ G. Walsh, (1997) 160.

men we can add the names of George Cockburn Henderson and Edward Owen Giblin Shann at the Universities of Adelaide and Western Australia who, were teachers first, but along with ‘their immediate successors transformed the state of original historical writing in Australia’.⁴¹⁴ Consequential emphasis on this developing discipline came from two meetings, separated by two years and at opposite sides of the country. The first and most noteworthy gathering was a conference of Australian historians, convened by Hancock, which met at the ANU towards the end of August, 1957.⁴¹⁵ Hancock had arrived in Canberra that same year after working at the University of London from 1949, and wasted no time in grasping the opportunity for discussion and an exchange of opinions with others involved in Australian history. Robin Gollan’s report revealed the breadth of the Conference for invitations were extended to all professors, researchers and teachers of Australian history in the country, including Sydney journalist and historian Malcolm Ellis, who later launched himself into brief acrimony with the fledgling *ADB* planners, especially Hancock.⁴¹⁶ Although few decisions were made, four areas in the research and teaching of Australian history became the focus of concentration: biography, church, labour and economic history, plus an examination of problems associated with archives.⁴¹⁷ In order to appreciate the place and development of Australian history emanating from this gathering it is necessary to note the contribution of two of the participants. Firstly, Laurie Fitzhardinge who, at Hancock’s suggestion, had been appointed Reader in the Sources of Australian History at ANU in 1950.⁴¹⁸ As an essential component of his appointment Fitzhardinge had been compiling a card index of names containing brief biographical information, ‘which he saw as laying the foundations for a

⁴¹⁴ R. M. Crawford, ‘History’ (1959) 152.

⁴¹⁵ R. Gollan, ‘Canberra History Conference’, *Historical Studies Australia & New Zealand*, Vol. 8, No. 29, (November 1957) 80-92.

⁴¹⁶ B. H. Fletcher, ‘Ellis, Malcolm Henry (1890 - 1969)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 14, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1996) 95-97.

⁴¹⁷ R. Gollan, ‘Canberra’ (1957) 80; G. Walsh, ‘Recording “the Australian Experience”: Hancock and the Australian Dictionary of Biography’, in *Keith Hancock: The Legacies of an Historian*, ed. D. A. Low (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2001) 252.

⁴¹⁸ G. Walsh (1977) 74; S. G. Foster, & M. M. Varghese (1996) 54 & 101. It will be stated later in this chapter that Fitzhardinge had been working in Canberra from 1934 except for the years 1945-1950 when he lectured in classics at the University of Sydney.

future dictionary on a grand scale... Before long, working parties which had been formed in every state capital were nominating people for inclusion'.⁴¹⁹ The Conference agreed that the biographic register of names should continue and that a biographical dictionary should be planned.⁴²⁰ Secondly, the significant contribution by former church minister and recent doctoral graduate Douglas Pike, who introduced discussion on church history and presented the case for a secular approach to the subject. Although Pike, still teaching at Adelaide, had moved away from the church as his profession, he apparently could not empty his thinking nor ignore his upbringing from years of church association. His oral presentation, as recorded, was deliberate and significant in its scope and echoed research from his recent *Paradise of Dissent*. Pike declared:

Most Australian church history has been written in a dull fashion by dull people for dull motives. Antiquarians have dabbled in biography, architecture and local oddities; supernumerary clerics have reminisced and eulogized; laymen have sedulously avoided the dangers of sectarian strife; and the few scholars venturing into the field, have done so apologetically, with great care to steady the trembling "ark".⁴²¹

Other aspects of his input at the Conference were significant. Pike was a staunch Labor supporter although not an ALP member, but had great respect for Liberal Prime Minister Robert Menzies, in fact an ambivalent attitude, mainly due to Menzies' support in tertiary education.⁴²² Pike reminded the attendees that the role of religious belief and practice had been given little attention even in political history, and that religion as a social

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, 130: D. H. Pike, 'Making a Biographic Dictionary', in *Historians at Work: Investigating and Recreating the Past*, eds. D. Dufty, G. Harman & K. Swan (Sydney, Hicks Smith & Sons, 1973) 105.

⁴²⁰ R. Gollan, 'Canberra' (1957) 80.

⁴²¹ Ibid, 82: to steady the trembling "ark", is a Biblical reference to the 'ark of the covenant' in 1 Chronicles 13: 9 & 10 where *Uzzah reached out his hand to steady the ark, because the oxen pulling the cart, stumbled.*

⁴²² Andrew Pike – J. Calvert, 9 January 2002 (privately held).

phenomenon had been largely ignored. Drawing on his recent doctoral writing he linked the religious and political strands: ‘A majority of the South Australian Legislative Council in the colony’s formative years were Congregationalists. What has been the function of Methodism, Congregationalism and Catholicism in the development of the Labor movement?’⁴²³

The other event was presented by J. A. La Nauze from Victoria, who gave his Presidential Address to the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science at Perth in August 1959, the same year plans for the proposed Dictionary were taking shape under Hancock. He presented a thirty-year overview of Australian history, including mention of Hancock’s 1930 published volume *Australia*. La Nauze, a meticulous scholar and at that time Professor of Economic History at the University of Melbourne, would succeed Hancock at ANU seven years later.⁴²⁴ Alongside these comments is a link tying Australian history with Canberra in Stuart Macintyre’s volume recounting the life of *Ernest Scott and the Making of Australian History*. Macintyre begins his Australian historiography during 1949 with the arrival in Canberra of Manning Clark to take the Chair of History at the Canberra University College.⁴²⁵ Clark had studied at Melbourne under both Scott and his successor R. M. Crawford and after a few years of study and teaching overseas returned to Australia half-way through 1940. He taught at Geelong Grammar, and then commenced teaching ‘the first full-year course in Australian history’ at Melbourne in 1946 followed three years later by his relocation to Canberra. The developing thread in Australian history is the linking of Canberra University College, to the ANU in 1960.⁴²⁶ Clark’s new position in Australian history at ANU was to involve him as ‘foundation joint section editor’, with the volatile journalist and

⁴²³ R. Gollan, ‘Canberra’ (1957) 82.

⁴²⁴ J. A. La Nauze, ‘The Study of Australian History, 1929-1959’, *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 8, No. 33 (November 1959) 1-11; G. Walsh, (1997) 100.

⁴²⁵ S. Macintyre, *A History for a Nation* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1994) 2; M. Clark, *The Quest for Grace* (Melbourne, Penguin Books, 1991) 182, 183.

⁴²⁶ C. Bridge, ‘Introduction’, ed. *Manning Clark: Essays on his place in history* (Melbourne, MUP, 1994) 3; G. Walsh, (1997) 45; L. Wigmore, *The Long View: a history of Canberra Australia’s National Capital* (Melbourne, F. W. Cheshire, 1963) 193.

historian Malcolm Ellis in the early development of the *ADB*, plus association with Pike. The ‘Ellis affair’ and his profound disagreements with ‘practically everyone else’ involved in these early *ADB* times will be examined later.⁴²⁷

The second area, covering the foundation of the nation’s capital had long been a topic of conversation, with the site for the inland city of what was to be Canberra chosen in 1910, including land earmarked for a university.⁴²⁸ The growing population in Canberra consisted mainly of public servants, some of whom were part-way through studies at the University of Melbourne when they moved north. Pressure by Canberra residents for a local university college in 1929 resulted in the Canberra University College. Links between the University College and the University of Melbourne permitted students to begin their courses the following year. A few years later, in 1934, a recent graduate from both Sydney and Oxford in Classics, Laurence Fitzhardinge, was employed in the National Library, joined the University Association, and began describing ‘a centre for research and postgraduate study where students and teachers would work together in the search for truth’.⁴²⁹ Fitzhardinge remained in Canberra until his retirement in 1973 (the year preceding Pike’s death), the final twenty-three years as reader in Australian history at the ANU Research School of Social Sciences.⁴³⁰

The third stream, the growth of Australian universities, commenced slowly but developed quickly after World War Two.⁴³¹ The ANU, with its strong focus on research was

⁴²⁷ A. Moore, “‘History without facts’: M. H. Ellis, Manning Clark and the origins of the Australian Dictionary of Biography”, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 85, Part 2 (December 1999) 71; G. Walsh, (2001) 254.

⁴²⁸ G. Davison, ‘Canberra’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, rev. ed., eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, OUP, 2001) 108-109; L. F. Fitzhardinge, *Old Canberra and the search for a capital* (Canberra, Canberra & District Historical Society, ACT, 1975); L. Wigmore, (1963) 30-44; S. G. Foster, & M. M. Varghese (1996) 5.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, 5 & 8; B. Ross & C. Cuneen, ‘Recorded interview with Laurence Frederic Fitzhardinge, b. 1908-1993’ (NLA Oral History Section, 4 March – 26 March 1987) TRC 2159/1, 1 & 6; J. J. Auchmuty with A. N. Jeffares, ‘Australian Universities: The Historical Background’, in *The Humanities in Australia: A Survey with special reference to the Universities*, ed. A. G. Price (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1959) 15.

⁴³⁰ G. Walsh, (1997) 74.

⁴³¹ C. Rasmussen, ‘Universities’ in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, rev. ed., eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, OUP, 2001) 662.

established in 1946.⁴³² Although depression and war had slowed Canberra's population and development, changes were evident in other capital cities that would affect Canberra's strategic contribution in Australian scholarship. The return of personnel from war-service, the post-war baby boom plus government emphasis on immigration demanded 'wider access to higher education' in both secondary and tertiary spheres in a developing nation. In 1950 the nation could point to six state universities plus the new ANU. Twenty-two years later, two years before Pike's death, there were fourteen universities throughout the various states and others planned.⁴³³ A significant trigger in this progress occurred at the end of 1956 during a visit to Britain by Australia's Prime Minister Robert Menzies, who invited Sir Keith Murray, Chairman of the University Grants Commission to visit Australia and head an investigation into the Australian university situation.⁴³⁴ At that stage Pike was at the University of Adelaide and still writing *Paradise of Dissent*. The Murray Commission's report the following year revealed that years of depending on state governments had resulted in Australian universities being financially bereft. The clear recommendation prescribed that the required education expansion needed an injection of Commonwealth finance. Government opposition to higher education necessitated Menzies' powerful authority to push the requirements in Cabinet, resulting in the adoption of the Murray Report and the initiation of Commonwealth funds into universities.⁴³⁵ Another insight on the development of ANU in its raw and early years, bereft of buildings except for army-type huts and the old timber hospital in which Pike was to have his *ADB* office, is presented by Sir Walter Crocker. Following a few years with the United Nations in New York, he turned down the Chair of History at the

⁴³² L. Wigmore, (1963) 160 & 204.

⁴³³ W. J. Hudson, '1951-72', in *A New History of Australia*, ed. F. K. Crowley (Melbourne, William Heinemann, Reprinted 1977) 545,546.

⁴³⁴ S. Davies, *The Martin Committee and the Binary Policy of Higher Education in Australia*, (Melbourne, Ashwood House, 1989) 9.

⁴³⁵ G. C. Bolton, *Oxford*, (2001) 100 & 117; G. Serle, (1974) 211; A. D. Trendall, 'Introduction', in *The Humanities in Australia: A Survey with special reference to the Universities*, ed. A. G. Price (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1959) xv; J. J. Auchmuty, 'The Idea of the University in its Australian Setting' in *The Australian University*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1963) 163.

University of Adelaide in 1949 and chose instead an ANU position as the inaugural Professor of International Relations and the first professor to be resident in the new university. He spent two years from April 1950 in Canberra which he described having ‘a shortage of everything except speeches, and especially a shortage of services’. Amongst his associates was Laurence Fitzhardinge, who obtained pocket-money selling fruit from his orchard, plus a renewed acquaintance with Sir Keith Hancock, whom Crocker had known for twenty years. Hancock soon severed his links with ANU and returned to London but resumed his connections with the university in 1957 where he became the foundation chairman of the *ADB*.⁴³⁶

Thus the increasing significance of Australian history, the founding of the nation’s capital, the linking of Canberra University College and the significance of the developing ANU were essential, if initially seemingly unrelated events. The personalities that came together from overseas and interstate in the late 1950s and early 1960s had little in common except the binding growth of Australian history and the embryonic *ADB*. Fitzhardinge’s encyclopaedic knowledge of Australian history, plus the arrival of Sir Keith Hancock at ANU in 1957 as founding Professor of History (1957-65) and Director of the Research School of Social Sciences, Institute of Advanced Studies (1957-61), was the lynch-pin tying Australian history, Canberra, the ANU, and the appointment of Pike as ‘foundation General Editor of the *ADB*’.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶ W. Crocker, *Travelling Back: The Memoirs of Sir Walter Crocker* (Melbourne, The Macmillan Company, 1981) 170-176; G. Walsh (2001) 265.

⁴³⁷ S. G. Foster, & M. M. Varghese, (1996) 130; W. K. Hancock, *Professing History*, (Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1976) 23 & 27.

NOTE:

This figure is included on page 125 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 14: Professor and Mrs. D. Pike (University of Tasmania, 1962)

CHAPTER 6: THE ADB AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Whether men make history or history makes men is a question for argument, but there can be no debate that biography is a proper study. As a means to an end its quality may vary, but its data are in constant demand. Telephone directories, year books, Who's Who and almanacs increase in use and bulk, yet the information wanted by working historians is seldom adequate and not readily accessible. Lives of great men proliferate fruitlessly while less known worthies must be sought in rare pamphlets and obscure journals.⁴³⁸

The previous chapter gave an account of Pike's three years at the University of Tasmania and his acceptance of the newly created position of General Editor of the *ADB*, followed by his family's second journey across Bass Strait, this time to Canberra. Significant meetings and events leading to Pike's appointment and other pertinent events at ANU will now be examined. The previous chapter also referred to the Canberra History Conference convened by Sir Keith Hancock in August 1957, and attended by Pike, soon after receiving his doctorate at the University of Adelaide. The History Conference was significant, and although 'few decisions were reached', the Conference was regarded as 'a success'; 'it was the first of its kind in this country' and provided 'a fruitful exchange of opinions on research and teaching in Australian history'.⁴³⁹

The development of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* had been discussed for more than a decade before the position of General Editor was filled.⁴⁴⁰ The growing interest in the proposed dictionary, many of the discussions and personalities involved, not to mention

⁴³⁸ D. Pike, 'The Australian Dictionary of Biography', in *Business Archives and History*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (Sydney, University of Sydney, August 1962) 185, Q31, *ADB* 69.

⁴³⁹ A. Mozley, 'The Australian Dictionary of Biography', *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 9, No. 35 (November 1960) 313-314. Ann Mozley's article was written before Pike's appointment and is most pertinent regarding the early history of the *ADB*.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

the extensive correspondence, are beyond the scope of this thesis, except where pertinent to the contribution of Douglas Pike.

By 1959, definite plans for the Dictionary had begun to emerge, but far from being a one-person effort, Hancock 'sought advice and approval from colleagues in the State Universities'.⁴⁴¹ Unlike similar projects in other countries, the Australian project would rely on co-operative scholarship and interest rather than large-scale financial backing. The ANU initially accepted financial responsibility and Melbourne University Press agreed to undertake publication of the Dictionary. An anonymous annual grant of fifteen hundred pounds donated to the University for three years triggered a financial launch for the project.⁴⁴²

Another important event in the development of the project and in the growing link between Pike and the proposed *ADB* was a Conference of the National Advisory Panel and Editorial Board held in Canberra, 23-24 April, 1960 at University House.⁴⁴³ It was agreed that the Dictionary should reflect the national character in its presentation, i.e. 'to give a representative picture of all strands of Australian life, observing the varying interests from State to State'.⁴⁴⁴ This meeting also endorsed the decision by the Editorial Board in October 1959 to publish the Dictionary in chronological order, with two volumes up to 1856, then two or three volumes covering 1857-1890, followed by a section for 1891-1920 or 1930. The question of a General Editor for a series of volumes was raised and while agreed as desirable, 'there were real difficulties in the way of achieving it'. No decision was recorded.⁴⁴⁵

The meeting reluctantly agreed to abandon the provisional title 'Dictionary of Australian Biography', as its use by Percival Serle on a work still in print would lead to

⁴⁴¹ Ibid: see also A. Mozley, 'Report of my journey to Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne and Hobart, August – Sept. 1959', Q31/ADB 67

⁴⁴² A. Mozley (1960) 313.

⁴⁴³ Sir Keith Hancock chaired the Conference and those present were Australian historians Greenwood, Auchmuty, Clark, Pike, Gollan, Ward, Ellis, Fitzhardinge, Hohnen and Mozley, plus Shaw who was visiting Canberra. Apologies from Serle, (La Nauze instead) and Sawyer, Q31/ADB 67.

⁴⁴⁴ A. Mozley (November 1960) 313 & 314.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

confusion. A process of elimination led to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB)*. Procedures and directions for working parties were discussed as the basic working structure of the Dictionary in each state, with the Dictionary produced in chronological volumes, biographies being arranged alphabetically within each volume. 'Persons will be included in the period in which they made their most important contribution to Australian affairs; *floruit*, not death, being the guide to their location'. Maximum length of articles was to be 6,000 words but most major articles should range between 2,000 and 4,000 words. Minor biographies would average 300-500 words and all contributions were to be signed.⁴⁴⁶ This decision, as will be mentioned later, was not carried out by Pike when appointed Editor, for his name was never appended to his own entries.

These developments made it clear that important decisions were still to be made. The next year Hancock produced a five-page report for the National Committee on: 'The Need for a General Editor'. He paid tribute to Ann Mozley as Assistant Editor, her work on correspondence tasks and general administration, but recognised that since neither she nor he had chosen Australian history as a main field of research, they could not provide leadership at the centre of the new venture. Hancock visualized a General Editor covering three responsibilities: as chief administrative officer of the Dictionary, secretary to the National Committee, and executive officer to the Editorial Board. In addition the incumbent would take over all the secretarial, administrative and communication functions performed by the present Assistant Editor. Hancock did not stop there, for his report, called a 'broad sketch', continued to list extensive responsibilities.⁴⁴⁷

The need for a General Editor was paramount and Hancock took the initiative by contacting John La Nauze of the University of Melbourne who was visiting Cambridge,

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Chairman K. Hancock, *ADB* National Committee, July 1961, Q31/ADB 67.

asking him to consider being General Editor and later replacing him (Hancock) as Chairman. La Nauze declined in a six-page handwritten letter but did succeed Hancock as Chairman in 1966.⁴⁴⁸ The following month Hancock wrote a confidential letter to John M. Ward at the University of Sydney, who had missed the selection committee meeting. He referred to two unnamed potential candidates on the provisional short list and noted that contact would be made with four other unnamed people to ascertain their availability.⁴⁴⁹

There is ample evidence that at this point Pike had been in the editorial picture for some months, but had refused the position on at least two occasions through concern for his family who were adjusting to Tasmanian life. Yet Hancock wanted Pike. It was a critical time for the Dictionary and Hancock promised warm support. Events moved quickly with phone calls, telegrams, confidential letters and committee meetings concluding with Pike's agreement and appointment in January 1962.⁴⁵⁰ Pike signed the 'conditions of appointment' the following October and was granted the status and title of 'Professor' within the ANU at a salary of 4,250 pounds per annum.⁴⁵¹ However, as stated in the previous chapter, Pike could not ethically leave Hobart and move to Canberra until the end of 1963. So he began juggling his responsibilities as Chair of History in Hobart and General Editor in Canberra with frequent travel to the nation's capital, where he would work in his office in the old hospital administrative building.⁴⁵²

In addition to his dual tasks, Pike edited the diary of the nineteenth-century Scottish-born James Coutts Crawford (1817-1889), which appeared in two published journal articles.⁴⁵³ In the first piece, Pike introduced his subject in a page and a half of biographical

⁴⁴⁸ K. Hancock to J. La Nauze, 27 October 1961; J. La Nauze to K. Hancock 12 November 1961, Q31/ADB 69.

⁴⁴⁹ K. Hancock to J. M. Ward, 27 November 1961, Q31/ADB 69: the names were not listed: A. Mozley (November 1960) 313-314.

⁴⁵⁰ See correspondence between December 1961 and April 1962, Q31/ADB 69.

⁴⁵¹ 4 October 1962, ANU, 1272.

⁴⁵² Q31/ADB 69: G. Walsh to J. Calvert, 12 April 2002 (privately held).

⁴⁵³ D. H. Pike, ed. 'The Diary of James Coutts Crawford', *South Australiana*, Vol. .3, No. 1 (March 1964) 54-67: The diaries were microfilmed by the NLA and a print held at the State Library of South Australia, D444) (L): See J. C. Crawford, 'Recollections of travel in New Zealand & Australia' (London, Truebner &

details. Crawford had achieved first place plus the gold medal at the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth, then after a few years service left the Navy, arrived in Sydney in 1838 and despite his ignorance of livestock was influenced by Edward John Eyre to overland cattle to South Australia even though a severe drought gripped New South Wales. Crawford sold his stock, travelled to New Zealand, bought land, imported horses and cattle from Sydney, commenced a flax dressing company in Wellington and sailed for London where he soon married. In 1845 he returned to Sydney with his wife and daughter, purchased a Queensland sheep and cattle station, and then travelled extensively in New South Wales and New Zealand. After the death of his first wife he remarried in Scotland, returned to New Zealand and later died in England in 1889. Pike's selections, taken from Crawford's three volumes of diaries, are in abbreviated form with some digressions, and commentary on treatment of indigenous people omitted. The diary extracts commenced late in 1838 and illustrated Crawford's journey with livestock to South Australia with a group of men, accompanied by a Mr Coutts as superintendent who was more experienced with livestock. Crawford's diary described the excessive heat, robbery from bushrangers, numerous attacks by natives and ended in April 1839.

The second part of Pike's selections, from February 1839, was published a year later and began in February 1839 when Crawford passed the last station on the Murrumbidgee, and continued accounts of both friendship and difficulties with indigenous people plus descriptions of their burial practices.⁴⁵⁴ Crawford's insightful account of Adelaide in 1839 contained descriptions which must have reminded Pike of his own 'Adelaide with the lid off' newspaper articles in *The News* eight before. Crawford wrote:

Co, 1880) XIV, BS Special Collections 919.3 C89: 'The Register of Australian Manuscripts and Archives entry for the National Library's set of microfilmed Crawford papers gives a fuller description of the diaries, which were filmed from originals held in private ownership. It is unclear whether this set includes the diary formerly available through the State Library', C. Hoskin to J. Calvert, 12 May 2008 (privately held): See also *The News*, 'Early Adelaide with the Lid Off – No. 8', *The Overlander*, 24 June 1957, 12.

⁴⁵⁴ D. H. Pike, ed. 'The Diary of James Coutts Crawford, Extracts on Aborigines and Adelaide, 1839 and 1841', *South Australiana*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (March 1965) 3-15.

I soon discovered what indeed was evident with one's eyes shut, that the whole population of the Colony of South Australia was undergoing a state of temporary madness. The fact was that the leaders of the Colony were cockneys, the emigrants (sic) boors from the inland districts who believed all that was told them ... Everyone dilated upon the fertility of the vast plains of the interior and spoke of the fields of corn that would soon wave over them. What was my surprise when I found that those fertile plains were the barren and thirsty wastes that I had just crossed over.⁴⁵⁵

Crawford judged that the population was ignorant of any country in excess of forty miles from Adelaide town. The remainder of the article with a second visit in 1841 and his opinion of Melbourne settlers betrays a style similar to Pike's, at times, quirky writing style: 'The Society of Melbourne did not in my opinion contrast favourably with that of Adelaide. They were probably the genus of as good company in the former as in the latter, but they did not mix and grow together in the same way'.⁴⁵⁶

Whatever else these articles reveal about Crawford's perceptions and Pike's interests, the extracts come from diaries, some penned during a long cattle drive rather than a carefully crafted academic history. Pike adds: 'These illuminating accounts by an active and intelligent observer were drawn from the notes of a lifetime ...'⁴⁵⁷

The same month that Crawford's second diary extract appeared, a further contribution by Pike, focusing on E. G. Wakefield and his family, was published, derived from a paper he had read at the Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston in September 1963.⁴⁵⁸ Pike's

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid, 10.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid. 13.

⁴⁵⁷ D. Pike, 'Crawford', 1964, 55.

⁴⁵⁸ D. H. Pike, 'Wakefield, Wasteland and Empire', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (March 1965) 75-83; see P. Bloomfield, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield, builder of the British Commonwealth* (London, Longmans, 1961).

contribution was in style a mini-biography and he set Wakefield in the wider context of his family, beginning with his grandmother, Priscilla Bell. Pike described aspects of Wakefield's character in precise terms following his subject's return from Canada in 1844: 'In London for the next two years he rampaged like a subterranean lion, lobbying politicians, bullying the clerks at the Colonial Office, organizing his friends, raging over hindrances to emigration from famine-stricken Ireland, and arranging for the settlement of the Company's land at Otago by devout Scots'.⁴⁵⁹

This was Pike's last journal contribution for the next few years, as momentum built for the first Dictionary volume, and while it not possible to gauge the amount of work involved in the project, Pike's first full year in Canberra showed that pressure was mounting on him to achieve an early publication date. News of hectic schedules reached the Chairman, Sir Keith Hancock who wrote to Pike from Cambridge: 'Fitz (Fitzhardinge) tells me that you have been getting disappointing support... we must try and improve the situation'. Hancock also wrote to Fitzhardinge so that he and Pike could discuss changes with suitable staff ensuring progress.⁴⁶⁰ Despite apparent changes in the *ADB* office organisation and work load there was no long-term relief and a few months later Pike's undated letter to Hancock revealed his frustration: 'the interminable details of production, endless checking, explaining, encouraging, planning and writing of unwanted articles – makes me feel sometimes like the lonely Elijah or the spectre ridden Ezekiel, when there is any time to feel at all'.⁴⁶¹ The Biblical references were applicable and revealed more than was apparent when such biographical accounts are examined in context. A humanist or psychological perspective would regard Elijah under threat of death following an exhilarating mountain experience and a physically exhausting marathon, without understanding spiritual perspectives. On the other hand Ezekiel was in

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid, 80, 81.

⁴⁶⁰ K. Hancock to D. Pike, 29 September 1964, GE file, Q31/ADB 71.

⁴⁶¹ D. Pike to K. Hancock, undated reply to Hancock's letter, 18 March 1965, GE file, Q31/ADB 71.

Chaldean captivity, confronted with an unusual heavenly vision, and again, a humanist view would regard this as frightening. Hancock, the son of an Anglican clergyman, would know such stories. Pike knew these Old Testament accounts from his years in the ministry and because he had largely closed the door to overt faith, he may have regarded his situation from a humanist perspective, rather than placing a personal trust in God within the events.

Pike was still a relative newcomer at ANU and may have experienced a sense of isolation in Canberra. Presumably he confided in his wife, but whether anyone else was able or willing to give counsel about the apparently never-ending editorial demands and improve the behaviour of contributors who pushed their own agendas is unknown. His expressions to Hancock illustrate the continuing tension he was internalizing, for he was not one to seek escape in drink or overt anti-social behaviour. But there was no relief, and sometime during 1965 Hancock distributed a sheet with Editorial Board Minutes, which Pike would also have received, mentioning that the General Editor would have to go to New Zealand to discuss Dictionary business with that country's contributors and adding his concern that Pike's intense concentration and the extreme strain he imposed on himself suggested 'he would be wise to give himself some let-up'.⁴⁶²

The National Committee, Editorial Board, and Working Parties performed their tasks on a voluntary basis as did virtually all authors.⁴⁶³ A key word here was 'National', for the *ADB* was Australia wide, yet also involved various overseas links, with inevitable delays in an era before fax machines, computers and email. The blurb on the dust jacket gives an idea of the human involvement in this first volume and the extent of administrative contact that was crucial in meeting publishing deadlines: 'In this volume, the 535 entries have been written by

⁴⁶² GE file, 1965, Q31/ADB 71: no specific date mentioned. See personal notes written by Hancock regarding Ellis, 8 December 1961, NLA 6869/12: For details about the turmoil with Ellis, Clark and Hancock see S. G. Foster & M. M. Varghese (1996) 132: see also A. Moore, "'History without facts': M. H. Ellis, Manning Clark and the origins of the Australian Dictionary of Biography" in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 85, Part 2 (December 1999) 71-84.

⁴⁶³ D. Pike (1966) v.

some 250 authors'. Apart from Australia, contributors came from England, Holland and America, and included a wide range of backgrounds.⁴⁶⁴

Pike had inherited turmoil from the trouble generated in Canberra by personalities involved in the early planning of the infant *ADB* such as the Sydney journalist Malcolm Ellis, 'a wrecker from outside the academy', plus (unspecified) medical concerns that affected the involvement of Manning Clark (a section editor with Professor Alan Shaw of Monash University in Volume One).⁴⁶⁵ In addition, Hancock, by his own admission, had mishandled matters with Ellis in particular, and openly admitted: 'Only just in time, Douglas Pike came to the rescue'.⁴⁶⁶ There is no doubt that Hancock fully supported Pike, for they were good friends, but Pike entered from outside into an entrenched 'small world of god-professors'. Some of these men tried to be condescending, but Pike would not play that game.⁴⁶⁷ While it is clear that many were loyal to him, there were times when he was 'very disheartened'. Pike was 'an orderly, probing editor and worked long hours', focused on his editorial tasks, setting high standards, and persevering despite some personal criticism and jealousy.⁴⁶⁸

A major illustration of editorial and contributor confrontation which involved both time and emotion was Pike's issue with Adelaide's historical geographer Sir Archibald Grenfell Price.⁴⁶⁹ Pike and Price had been friends in Adelaide and Price had launched Pike's *Paradise of Dissent* at the University of Adelaide in 1957. Price, a member of the South Australian Working Party under the chairmanship of local historian H. J. Finnis, submitted

⁴⁶⁴ D. Pike (1966) inside cover.

⁴⁶⁵ D. Pike to A. Shaw and N. Phillips, 23 March 1962, GE file, Q31/ADB 69 & 71: see also A. Moore, 'History without Facts': M. H. Ellis, Manning Clark and the origins of the Australian Dictionary of Biography', *JRAHS*, Vol. 85, Part 2 (December 1999) 71-84; A. Atkinson, 'Shaw, A. G. L', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 588.

⁴⁶⁶ K. Hancock, *Professing History* (Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1976) 38 & 39; A. Moyal (1995) 148.

⁴⁶⁷ F. B. Smith to J. Calvert, 8 April 2002 (privately held).

⁴⁶⁸ G. Bolton to J. Calvert, 11 May 2002 (privately held); W. Birman to J. Calvert, 30 October 2002 (privately held).

⁴⁶⁹ G. Walsh, *Australia History & Historians*, Australian Defence Force Academy (Canberra: The University of New South Wales, 1997) 122-123.

articles in 1961 on George Fife Angas, Charles Sturt and John Hindmarsh for the proposed Dictionary. But within three years ‘an acrimonious correspondence’ had developed between Price and Pike. Price’s articles, despite his own revision as requested, were regarded as not meeting *ADB* requirements and unsuitable for inclusion. A bitter correspondence fuelled the dispute: Price resigned from the Working Party. The Editorial Board supported Pike but hoped that Price would withdraw his resignation. He did, and his name was included in volume one as a member of the South Australian working party.⁴⁷⁰

Pike’s Friday afternoon practice was to rewrite unsuitable articles, return them to the original author and invite them to append their name.⁴⁷¹ Price was not the only rejected contributor, as extracts from Pike’s ‘conciliatory letter’ reveal in Price’s biography. ‘Yours is by no means an isolated case, but out of some 200 authors who have already “bowed the knee to Baal”, you are the first to protest and decline authorship’.⁴⁷² Another biblical expression from the Old Testament account of Elijah which Price would understand both from his school days and other religious connections, hence his reply denying that he would “bow the knee to Baal” even if he were the only Elijah against 450 prophets’.⁴⁷³ Price offered to ‘clean up Angas’ and submit the article anonymously, which signified handing Pike an olive branch of peace. But this does not suggest that Pike had to ‘bow the knee’ to a scholar held in high regard, for the *ADB* requirements were distinct from Price’s normal writing style. The only source for this incident is Price’s biography whose author maintains that Pike accepted the redrafted article, invited Price to lunch at his Canberra home, then wrote formally to Price in January 1965 advising that both the Angas and Hindmarsh articles were ‘out of harmony in general style’ with *ADB* requirements and that he ‘agreed with his editors in this verdict’.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁰ C. Kerr, *Archie: The biography of Sir Archibald Grenfell Price* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1983) 239-241: Editorial Board Minutes, 21 January 1965, 12 February 1965, *ADB* Q31/70.

⁴⁷¹ F. B. Smith to J. Calvert, 8 April 2002 (privately held).

⁴⁷² C. Kerr (1983) 240.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid* 7, Price was a devout Anglican, had studied at St. Peter’s College and became a Synod member of the Adelaide Diocese: G. Walsh (1997) 122.

⁴⁷⁴ C. Kerr (1983) 240 & 241.

The submissions on Angas and Hindmarsh were unsigned in volume one although Manning Clark was requested to write the Angas contribution and he was a Section Editor.⁴⁷⁵ Sturt, in volume two was written by H. J. Gibbney.⁴⁷⁶ This drawn-out saga demonstrates two aspects of an *ADB* editor's responsibility. From one perspective it depicted Pike's personal involvement with contributors, many of whom he knew, and the emotional strain that may have been generated. Parallel with this was his responsibility in establishing and maintaining an *ADB* style and standard that would guarantee the first volume's acceptance with a critical readership.

Price's offer to submit the article anonymously raises the question of unsigned Dictionary articles. The only way to discover which articles Pike wrote is to check the original *ADB* files and ascertain if the original is in his handwriting. Even that might not be proof of authorship, for occasionally Pike asked a staff member to write an article, although most of these would include author recognition.⁴⁷⁷ An insight into these procedures and integral to the editorial process was Pike's own input into the development of the *ADB* organisation, and the manner in which he envisaged the new department evolving. Pike's editorial responsibility for setting up 'the complicated interstate administration, finding and training staff and establishing the *ADB*'s scholarly reputation', has been confirmed by Martha Campbell (formerly Rutledge), a contributor to dictionary articles from the first volume.⁴⁷⁸ Campbell adds that Pike was adept at reducing a paragraph to a sentence and sought to achieve strict word limits which some authors ignored: 'He maintained that the Psalms had been written without adjectives and as far as possible excluded from the *ADB*. This meant making verbs

⁴⁷⁵ Letter from Pike, written by N. Phillips, to Manning Clark, 21 January 1965, *ADB* Q31/70.

⁴⁷⁶ Staff member of *ADB* in RSSS see S. G. Foster & M. M. Varghese. (1996) 150.

⁴⁷⁷ A. Bundock, *ADB* to J. Calvert, 19 April 2007 (privately held).

⁴⁷⁸ M. Campbell to J. Calvert, 30 September 2002 (privately held).

work ... He could be ruthless with authors who did not meet his standards'.⁴⁷⁹ In the early 1960s Martha Rutledge, Sue Edgar and Sally O'Neill were three of the writers who:

were frequently given an article and told to rewrite it, which meant beginning again from scratch, researching it and then rewriting. If an author who had submitted a shoddy article objected to this draconian editing they were given very short shrift. If they accepted or thanked him for improving it they signed it.⁴⁸⁰

Recollections from Edgar reveal that: 'As an editor he put the style and content of the *ADB* ahead of contributor's/author's delicate feelings.'⁴⁸¹ O'Neill confirms these opinions. She regarded Pike as a brilliant editor who 'established the *ADB* as a first class resource for both academics and amateurs. As Editor rather than prolific author he is undeservedly unrecognized – a shadowy figure in Australian historiography'.⁴⁸² These comments reveal the high regard in which Pike was held as editor, and show a different side to the writing standard required by the *ADB*. In each of the five volumes that Pike edited, the preface contained the sentence, 'Most of the unsigned entries were prepared by Dictionary staff'.⁴⁸³ Any attempt to be more specific in discovering particular authors is virtually impossible. A detailed scan of the files and card system at the *ADB* office may reveal the names of authors but I have not undertaken this task.

The above reference to style links with Pike's method as Editor, illustrated in extracts from a letter he received in mid-July 1963 from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.⁴⁸⁴ Against one-and-a-quarter pages of names, brief details and dates, Pike made

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ S. Edgar to J. Calvert, 10 October 2002 (privately held).

⁴⁸² S. O'Neill to J. Calvert, 11 October 2002 (privately held): S. O'Neill (nee Burnard), a former student of Pike's in Adelaide, was employed by Pike as a Research Assistant in the *ADB* office in the 1960s.

⁴⁸³ D. Pike "Preface" (1966) v and vols. 3, 4 & 5.

⁴⁸⁴ Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, ACT, to D. H. Pike, 16 July 1963, ADB 67 Q31/67: details of the original letter were not archived.

written comments: ‘possible, doubtful, no material, V3, Balfour’. In addition, rough lists of possible names for inclusion, plus potential authors, and deadline dates, were written on numbered sheets, suggesting the use of carbon copies. Typed lists linked with the written sheets were divided into three columns: author and address, identity of selected person, number of words and section plus *ADB* volume.⁴⁸⁵ The letters T2, N2, Q2 referred to the states and volumes. A selection follows:⁴⁸⁶

AUTHOR	ARTICLE	SECTION
Briggs, Asa, Uni. of Sussex, Eng	Coffey, W	T2 300/500
Walsh, G. P. Geography, IAS, ANU	Busby, John Garling, Frederick Jr.	N2 800 N2 300
Bolton, Dr. G History Monash Uni	Kennedy, EBC	Q2 1000
Mozley, Mrs. Ann History, IAS, ANU	J. Beete-Jukes Dana, J. D.	N2 700 N2 700

A further reference to editorial and style requirements from contributors and an undated four-page article, recorded Pike’s ‘indebtedness to a host of librarians and archivists’, and acknowledged their ‘patience, skill and co-operation’ in the forthcoming production of *ADB* volume one. The few pages shed further light on standards required from authors.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ D. Pike, ‘Historical Biography and Australian Libraries’, General Editor, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, no publication or date, NLA 6869/ 109, Box 15.

The suggested date is early 1966 for Pike's opening paragraph states that, 'the first volume of the *ADB* to be published on 3 March 1966'.⁴⁸⁸ Pike provided answers to what must have been constant enquiries from prospective authors, by suggesting that entries needed to be 'both precise and interpretative.' He illustrated this requirement by presenting 'five groups of factual statements'.

- A. Statements of vital statistics and related matters: birth date, place parentage, education, occupation, marriage, offspring, death, probate etc.
- B. Statements credited to the subject in letters, diaries, publications, Hansard etc.
- C. Statements about the subject by his contemporaries.
- D. Statements about the subject by later recorders.
- E. The author's assessment of the subject.⁴⁸⁹

Further evidence of Pike's dry wit humour is revealed in a following sentence. 'One contributor has objected that this analysis makes history dull and another has protested that a zoologist can recreate an extinct animal from a fossil tooth, although he did not accept my challenge to write a biography from a single reference in an Army List'.⁴⁹⁰

The year 1966 became a pinnacle in Australian historical scholarship, with the culmination of long periods of organisation, writing, meetings, and hard work with the first *ADB* volume published as, 'the basic reference for research into Australia's past', and 'the

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

largest project in the Social Sciences ever undertaken in Australia'.⁴⁹¹ Pike's Preface as General Editor announced that an additional volume would complete the period 1788-1850, with four volumes planned for the 1851-1890 period, and suggested that six publications would suffice for the 1891-1938 era. He included explanations regarding the placing of individual names according to their most significant work (*floruit*), the manner of selection and the role of State Working Parties.⁴⁹² A recurring explanation on the selection of names in the Dictionary was included in every Preface written by Pike and continued in volume six under the editorship of Bede Nairn: 'Many of the names were obviously significant and worthy of inclusion. Others, less notable, were chosen simply as samples of the Australian experience'.⁴⁹³ This explanation echoes the themes of Pike's earlier writing, in which he gave prominence not only to convicts, colonial identities, and notable personalities but to the 'smallholders' of the land. He was also carrying out the philosophy prescribed for dictionary articles as mentioned earlier by 'reflecting the national character' and 'giving a representative picture of all strands of Australian life'.⁴⁹⁴ My understanding from researching Pike's life is that he, himself, was an illustration of the 'Australian experience'. His parentage was humble, although significant in missionary annals, and his years in the outback gave him a perspective that city life and academia never clouded.

On 4 March 1966, the South Australian State Archivist, Gerald Fischer, who had assisted Pike in obtaining various archival sources during his tenure at the University of Adelaide, was one of a number of guests at the ANU in Canberra, the venue for a formal dinner and launch of *ADB's* first volume, presided over by the recently retired Prime Minister,

⁴⁹¹ G. Walsh, 'Recording "the Australian Experience": Hancock and the Australian Dictionary of Biography', in *Keith Hancock: The Legacies of an Historian*, ed. D. A. Low (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001) chapter 9, 250; D. Pike, gen. ed. *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 1: 1788-1850, A-H* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966).

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, v.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, v plus vols. 2,3, 4,5 & 6.

⁴⁹⁴ See A. Mozley's article, *HAS&NZ* (November 1960) 313 & 314.

Sir Robert Menzies.⁴⁹⁵ In volume one, 1788-1850, alphabetically covering A-H, the Section Editor for 1788-1825 was A. G. L. Shaw, with C. M. H. Clark for 1826-1850. The names of Committee members were listed beginning with the National Committee plus the Editorial Board with some members belonging to both groups. Then followed the Working Parties: Newcastle, New England, and the six states, followed by a five-page alphabetical compilation of authors.⁴⁹⁶

The Dictionary page of 'Acknowledgments' recognised the financial backing of the Bushell Trust and the Myer Foundation, plus the privileges extended by Australian Universities, followed by a series of overseas and local people. However, two perplexing aspects concerned individuals whose contribution had been essential in the Dictionary team. One was that although Pike rightly mentioned Mrs. Nan Phillips, his personal assistant, his reference to Mrs. Ann Mozley (Moyal) listed her as 'editorial staff', a role she had not filled, whereas her position as secretary and Assistant Editor was omitted.⁴⁹⁷ Any reasons for this error are lost, but it is strange that Pike, who was so meticulous in his editorial responsibilities, should permit such a comment to be published. As General Editor, Pike had not officially worked with Mozley, for she resigned from the Dictionary in 1962, but they had met. Pike commenced in Canberra two years later, and her resignation brought a commendation from his pen: 'Along with your industry, you have welded together a team, and when it produced a Dictionary, that will be your worthiest monument'.⁴⁹⁸ This suggests a clash of personalities, for in retrospect, Moyal (Mozley) regarded the early period of her work in Canberra from late 1958 as Assistant Editor with Hancock, as a 'Boy's Own' environment. She claims to have

⁴⁹⁵ G. Fischer to J. Calvert, 14 April 2002 (privately held); B. Nairn to J. Calvert, 10 September 2002 (privately held); The invitation prescribed 'dinner jacket' but not all guests were so attired, see P. Ryan, 'Manning Clark', in *Quadrant*, No. 299, Vol. XXXVII, Number 9 (September 1993) 18: see also *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 March 1966) 14 and *SMH* (3 March 1966) 2.

⁴⁹⁶ D. Pike (1966) ix, xi-xv.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, vii; A. Moyal (1995) 116; A. Moyal to J. Calvert, 7 May 2002 & 3 September 2002 (privately held); Report of the Council of the ANU for the year ending 1959, 57; (1960) 58; (1961) 67, ANU 6869/12.

⁴⁹⁸ A. Moyal (1995) 147; D. Pike to N. Phillips with copy of Mozley's resignation, 26 March 1962, Q31/ADB 71.

formed a good working relationship with various state historians but found Pike ‘antipathetic’.⁴⁹⁹

The second puzzle is that although Hancock, Chairman of both the National Committee and Editorial Board, is listed under those headings in the *ADB*, he receives no further mention, nor is there reference to any *ADB* history.⁵⁰⁰ There are many more aspects of these events than it is appropriate to examine in this thesis, but reference to the historical development of the *ADB* was made in official university reports. Publication of the *ADB* was officially discussed in 1959 during Mozley’s (Moyal) term as Assistant Editor: ‘Arrangements with a publisher are being negotiated and it is estimated that the first two volumes will reach the press by 1962’.⁵⁰¹ Bede Nairn’s *ADB* article on Pike presents a variant picture on arrangements for publication of the Dictionary: ‘by 1961 ... no firm plans had been made for its production’.⁵⁰²

Reviews of the first volume were soon in print, with one overseas journal questioning the commencing date of 1788: ‘Various individuals such as Cook and Dampier, who precede it, have been included but one looks in vain for other pioneer navigators, including the early Dutch visitors who might well have been included’.⁵⁰³ By contrast, an almost three-page comprehensive review was produced by the newly appointed foundation Professor of History

⁴⁹⁹ A. Moyal to J. Calvert, 7 May 2002 (privately held). The contrast after years of working with Lord Beaverbrook and living ‘a rather sophisticated life in London and the world ... and treated as an equal’ suggests that in her assessment, Pike was a ‘minor figure’: see also A. Moyal (1995) chapters 8 & 9, 119-149.

⁵⁰⁰ A. Moyal (1995) 137 & 147; D. Pike (1966) ix: See Walsh (2001) 263-264, for an explanation of Hancock’s involvement in *ADB* history. Gerald Walsh was Senior Lecturer at the Defence Force Academy, Canberra and a former Research Assistant to Hancock. He has contributed more articles to the *ADB* commencing from volume one than any other author: D. A. Low, ed. *Keith Hancock: The Legacies of an Historian*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001) xii.

⁵⁰¹ ANU Council (1959) 57: (1960) 58: (1961) 67.

⁵⁰² B. Nairn, ‘D. H. Pike’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 16: 1940-1980, Pik-Z*, eds. J. Ritchie & D. Langmore (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2002) 1: see A. Moyal, review, *ADB*, Vol. 16 in *Canberra Times* (23 November 2002) 10: see also F. Bongiorno, ‘Nairn (N) B’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 455: Nairn was acting General Editor during Pike’s illness in 1974 and edited volume 6, then shared the position with Geoffrey Serle as joint General Editors from volume 7, see obituary by Gerald Walsh, <http://rsss.anu/documents/bede.html>.

⁵⁰³ *British Book News* (December 1966) 938.

at La Trobe University, A. W. Martin: ‘Now that this first elegant volume of the *Dictionary* is before us, it can be left to cantankerous eccentrics to doubt the promise of the great ‘national project’ it represents or to question the capability of those to whom direction of that project has been entrusted’.⁵⁰⁴ Martin referred to omissions and questioned ‘that only fifteen of the entries refer to individuals born locally and five of these are aborigines’, and signalled that although women hover in the background, ‘barely half a dozen rate a mention in their own right’.⁵⁰⁵

A review by an American journalist, historian and commentator on foreign affairs, C. Hartley Grattan, who had visited Australia on several occasions, commended the volume and described it as ‘very satisfactorily done’.⁵⁰⁶ However, in addition to criticism of some articles, Grattan’s analysis included dissatisfaction with ‘skilfully placed honorifics and gently moralistic evaluations’ in ‘final paragraphs’ and suggested ‘it is best to stick to ‘the facts’’. On three occasions he injected ‘grumbles’ concerning ‘the index of authors (pp. xi-xv)’, the lack of author identification, plus ‘the utility of *unsigned* entries’.⁵⁰⁷

The publication of volume two containing 581 entries, followed the next year (1967), completing alphabetical surnames I–Z in the years up to 1850 and again naming A. G. L. Shaw and C. M. H. Clark as Section Editors. Pike’s Preface was similar to the previous volume and the following pages continued the same format of Acknowledgments, Committees and lists of Authors as volume one.⁵⁰⁸ As he had with the previous volume, A. W. Martin of La Trobe University wrote a review commending the publication and mentioned that the two pages of corrigenda for volume one, issued simultaneously with volume two, underlined that

⁵⁰⁴ A. W. Martin, *Historical Studies Australia & New Zealand*, Vol. 12, No. 48 (April 1967) 584-586.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁶ C. H. Grattan, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 52, Part 3 (September 1966) 251.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 252-253: The review by M. H. Ellis was headed ‘Disaster in Australian Research’, *The Bulletin* (26 March 1966) 48 & 49.

⁵⁰⁸ D. H. Pike, gen. ed. *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 2: 1788-1850, I-Z* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1967).

most errors were trivial. He praised the high level of accuracy achieved by both editors and staff and the obvious attention given 'to revision and correction. The *Dictionary* seems destined to fulfil its promise as the most valuable working tool in the hands of Australian scholars'.⁵⁰⁹ Before the year ended, a six page review of the inaugural volumes was written by Geoffrey Blainey, then Professor of Economic History at the University of Melbourne.⁵¹⁰ He commended the publication of the volumes, suggesting that 'the *ADB* will probably be the most valuable reference work in Australian history' ... and questioned unexplained areas, also raised by Grattan in his previous review of volume one: 'The decision that many entries should be unsigned is puzzling, especially as some are of the highest standard'.⁵¹¹ At the end of the year, Hartley Grattan's review on the second volume raised similar questions.⁵¹²

Various contributions towards the next *ADB* volume continued to be compiled by Pike's staff, and during this period, Pike's editorial tasks were combined with his only contribution to the Oxford University Press series 'Great Australians'. This was his thirty-page work on South Australian soldier, politician and pastoralist, Charles Hawker, published in 1968.⁵¹³ Pike's succinct biography emphasises Hawker's school years, university achievements and sporting interests, plus his war service and political contribution, but the theme of his affinity with the land is a thread running through the volume. Pike's concluding sentences, describing Hawker, show his concise expertise with descriptive expressions: 'He won trust and affection by his high ideals of 'the living right'. He loved fun and wit but found

⁵⁰⁹ A. W. Martin, *Historical Studies Australia & New Zealand*, Vol. 13, No. 49 (October 1967) 132-133: by February 1969 corrigenda for vol. one had extended to seven pages, with five pages for vol. two.

⁵¹⁰ G. Blainey, 'The Australian Dictionary of Biography', in *Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (November 1967) 58-64; G. Davison, 'Blainey, Geoffrey Norman', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford, Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 74-76.

⁵¹¹ G. Blainey (1967) 63; M. H. Ellis, 'Biography soup', in *The Bulletin* (10 June 1967) 82.

⁵¹² C. H. Grattan, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 53, Part 4 (December 1967) 353-355.

⁵¹³ D. Pike, *Charles Hawker*, Great Australians (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1968) 1-30; see ANU MS 6869/ Box 1; also F. Hawker and R. Linn, *Bungaree: Land, Stock & People* (Adelaide, Turnbull Fox Phillips, 1992) 167; and D. Van Dissel, 'Hawker, Charles Allan Seymour (1894-1938)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 9, 1891-1939, Gil-Las, gen. eds. B. Nairn & G. Serle (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1983) 231-232.

his best satisfaction in serving his country as soldier and citizen, statesman and patriot'.⁵¹⁴ The question that arises from Pike's assessment is whether the sentence before this quotation describes Hawker in an autobiographical manner: 'Deeply religious, he never allowed church-going to become a habit that might blunt his sense of God'.⁵¹⁵ There was no further explanation and although that might be an apt understanding of Hawker, it raises the question as to whether Pike regarded himself in similar fashion without 'lifting the lid' on his own inner feelings. As we have noted in earlier chapters, his years in a missionary school with a Christian upbringing, three years study in theological college followed by several years of pastoral ministry, were periods in his life that he had 'buried' like the word lock on his duffel bag.⁵¹⁶ Considering the constant pressures of Pike's editorial tasks revealed in the documents covering these *ADB* years, there are sufficient grounds to assume that, in his own mind, he would also have liked to 'bury' some Dictionary problems.

In that same year (1968), Pike edited the texts of 72 letters of outgoing correspondence from 'the South Australian Association's letter books' from 1833 to 1835, originally copied by the Honorary Secretary Robert Gouger, 'relating to the foundation of South Australia', from the originals then in the Public Record Office, London.⁵¹⁷ Gouger's portrait was opposite the Introduction in which Pike presents a brief but detailed account of microfilm and photostat information relating to 72 of 200 original letters, 'selected chiefly to avoid repetition. Samples only are given of the many answers to inquiries of potential land-buyers, emigrants and job-seekers'. Pike identifies many of the recipients plus others mentioned in the

⁵¹⁴ D. Pike (1968) 30: Pike received a congratulatory letter from Australia's Governor-General, Lord Casey who had served with Hawker in Federal Parliament during the 1930s, dated 20 May 1968, NLA 6869, Box 7/2.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ See Chapter 2, page 28, footnote 85: referring to Pike's letter from the Cassilis-Merriwa area in country NSW to his brother Wal in Melbourne, referring to the combination word 'bury', which was the word-key to open his bag.

⁵¹⁷ D. Pike (ed.) 'Robert Gouger's South Australian Association letter books, 26 November 1833 – 6 April 1835', *South Australiana* (March, 1968) 7(1), 1-38, Gouger's portrait was taken from a small original water-colour miniature at the Art Gallery of South Australia: see also D. Pike, gen. ed., 'Gouger, Robert (1802-1846)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1, 1788-1850, A-H, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1966) 461-463.

letters by inserting eighty footnotes, without which the letters would comprise difficult to comprehend information.⁵¹⁸

Volume three of the Dictionary was next on Pike's agenda and during the time of preparation for publication, ideas were circulating within the *ADB* department for Douglas and Olive Pike to travel overseas for a combined research study leave and holiday period. The Pikes had been overseas separately but never together, so Hancock sought to arrange a visiting fellowship at Cambridge or on the campus of an American university. Personal comments surrounding this proposal are revealing as to the perception others had of Pike's character. In a hand written letter (which suggested private not official correspondence), La Nauze stated that costs to the university would amount to about \$1,000, which he estimated as: 'chicken feed compared with our regular sending of a scholar to India to write a thesis which will be forgotten ... As you know it is always difficult even for a friend to get direct information from Douglas about his personal affairs'.⁵¹⁹ Similarly, a letter from Ross Hohnen, the ANU Registrar, to the Carnegie Corporation in New York regarding the possibility of a grant to supplement the ANU travel contribution, mentioned Pike's 'gentle nature'.⁵²⁰ Such character traits were descriptive of Pike's persona and verified by others with whom he had studied, taught, worked and associated.⁵²¹ A familiarization trip early in his tenure of office had been thought desirable in the negotiations of his appointment as Editor, for Pike had not been accorded study leave since Adelaide days in 1954. Pressure from his colleagues combined with invitations from various dictionary projects in Canada, the United States and France resulted in arrangements for research combining study leave and Dictionary business with a grant of \$2,750 as 'a lump sum to meet all costs'.⁵²² Plans were initiated for the visit and in

⁵¹⁸ D. Pike (1968) 1-37.

⁵¹⁹ J. La Nauze to R. Hohnen, 7 December 1968, ADB 70/1272, folder 51.

⁵²⁰ R. Honen to S. Stackpole, Carnegie Corporation, 18 December 1968, ADB 70/1272, folder 60: the grant was not received: Ross Hohnen was Registrar at ANU and appointed Secretary in late 1968.

⁵²¹ Correspondence to J. Calvert from D. Selth, 23 September 2002: J. Prest, 13 August 2002: A. Shaw 22 July 2002: H. Jones, 1 October 2002 (all privately held).

⁵²² R. Hohnen to ANU Vice-Chancellor, 10 March 1969, ADB 70/1272, folder 64.

his study leave proposal Pike recommended that Bede Nairn be in charge of continuing Dictionary work during his absence.⁵²³

Before they travelled overseas Pike was involved in two more literary tasks that must have required extended hours. He wrote a two-page review of an edition containing more than one thousand pages, on the ‘collected works’ of E. G. Wakefield with an introduction designed ‘to facilitate ‘a fuller assessment of his worth’’.⁵²⁴ His other responsibility was the editorial oversight of *ADB* volume three, published in 1969.⁵²⁵ Geoffrey Blainey commended the work as a ‘fascinating volume’ which: ‘is leaving behind the convicts and semi-literate litigants of the first series of volumes and moving into a prosperous era of illuminated addresses, nine sons and three daughters, and best-attended funerals in the district’.⁵²⁶ Blainey also described the publication as a ‘masterly book’ and praised the ‘skills and efforts’ of the three section editors, N. B. Nairn, A. G. Serle and R. B. Ward, who continued the work begun in volumes one and two by A. G. L. Shaw and C. M. H. Clark.⁵²⁷ By contrast James Waldersee, although stating that ‘the general standard of the first two volumes has been maintained’, used most of his review to emphasise: ‘problems ... space allocation ...factual error ... inconsistency ... lapses of language ... blemishes in presentation’, and added, ‘upon occasion, digression into anecdote brings obscurity rather than enlightenment’.⁵²⁸ While Blainey did not ignore the errors he was constructive in his assessment of the publication, whereas Waldersee, however justified in his criticisms, seemed more concerned with scoring points.

⁵²³ D. Pike to Professor W. Borrie, Director RSSS, 11 April, 1969, ADB 70/1272, folder 68.

⁵²⁴ D. Pike (review) in *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 14, No. 53 (October 1969) 109-110, *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, edited with an introduction by M. F. Lloyd Prichard (Glasgow & London, Collins, 1968): The review reveals careful perusal of the volume and gives pertinent criticisms of its contents, pointing out that many relevant New Zealand theses on the subject had been ignored and concludes with reference to Wakefield’s obituarist in *The Press* (Christchurch): ‘He lived and died a great and brilliant enigma’, 110.

⁵²⁵ D. Pike, gen. ed. *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 3: 1851-1890, A-C* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1969) v.

⁵²⁶ G. Blainey, *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 14, No. 53 (October 1969) 102-104.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁵²⁸ J. Waldersee, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 57, Part 2 (June 1972) 182-185.

Pike's overseas study leave was enhanced by two awards. One assisted in overseas accommodation arrangements, and the other recognised his contribution as an Australian historian. Pike was elected as Commonwealth Fellow for 1969/70 by St. John's College, Cambridge, entitling him to furnished rooms in the College at no charge, and dining rights at College expense. In addition, he received a stipend of 300 pounds. The Pikes planned to arrive in Cambridge on Thursday 23 October with occupancy arranged at Flat 3, Merton House and non-residential use of rooms provided in E5a, New Court at St. John's College.⁵²⁹ Pike's leave commenced on 14 October 1969; a few weeks after he and his wife had left for overseas it was announced that Pike had been awarded the bi-annual \$500 Ernest Scott Prize by the University of Melbourne for his general editorship of volumes one and two of the *ADB*.⁵³⁰

The Pike's returned home on 8 July 1970 and early the following month Pike submitted his Study Leave Report to the ANU.⁵³¹ The majority of Pike's leave was spent in Cambridge, apart from three weeks in Canada and the United States, during which time his wife remained in Cambridge. His wide-ranging inquiries included further investigation into the life of E. G. Wakefield, visiting various libraries and archives in England and Scotland, plus sharing in college activities, and attending university seminars across a wide range of subjects including history, geography, moral philosophy and theology. Conversations with his counterparts and colleagues in Canada, the United States and South Africa expanded his knowledge of equivalent projects to the *ADB*. His visit to several universities in the United States included investigations in an area he had researched in England, namely: 'many discussions with scholars interested in the Wakefield project'.⁵³² However, the highlight of

⁵²⁹ The Master, St. John's College, Cambridge to D. Pike, 16 May 1969, NLA 6869/7: F. Colbert, Archivist, St. John's College, Cambridge to J. Calvert 12/9/2003 (privately held): see also NLA MS 6869/1.

⁵³⁰ H. G. Helms, University of Melbourne to D. Pike 24 November 1969, NLA MS 6869/1, GE file: see *Canberra Times* (6 December 1969) 10: the award recognised the most distinguished work on Australian or New Zealand history published in the period by a resident in either country, and was individual not collective.

⁵³¹ Study Leave Report: 3 August 1970, Professor Douglas Pike, Department of History, Research School of Social Sciences (14 October 1969 – 8 July 1970) ANU 6869/1272, folder 92.

⁵³² *Ibid*: Pike's Study Leave Report did not detail new information on Wakefield.

Pike's American visit was a speaking engagement at the Missouri Valley History Conference in Omaha, 12-14 March 1970, under the sponsorship of the University of Nebraska at Omaha. Following the evening banquet on Friday 13 March, Pike delivered an address entitled: 'The Wooing ways of Edward Gibbon Wakefield'.⁵³³

Pike resumed his duties from Bede Nairn as *ADB* Editor, and continued the task of preparing volume four for publication. There are no extant records of their working relationship, but Nairn regarded Pike as an academic and writer 'of the highest calibre'.⁵³⁴ The same month that he returned to the *ADB* office (July), a Canadian journal published Pike's sixteen-page article tracing the historical development of national biography projects, using as examples Great Britain's *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Dictionary of American Biography*.⁵³⁵ A six-page introduction began with three sentences that established the article's theme, (*italics original*):

The making of national biographical dictionaries; or, the compiling of full, accurate, and concise memories of all noteworthy inhabitants from earliest historical times to the present. Commemoration is a term favoured by national biographers. If there is such a thing as the commemorative instinct, it is always capricious, waxing and waning for no tangible reasons, often self-created, easy to abuse, and hard to arouse.⁵³⁶

After discussing the genesis of various biographical dictionaries in China, England, Europe, the United States, Australia, Canada and South Africa, the paper analysed their

⁵³³ Professor B. Garver to J. Calvert, 18 March 2002 (privately held); Professor Harl A. Dalstrom to J. Calvert, 21 & 25 March 2002 (privately held): a leaflet advertising this visit is in Pike's papers, ANU 6869/ 7 & 15. Pike also addressed the Conference luncheon on Thursday 12 March 1970, due to the unexpected absence of Professor Aubrey C. Land of the University of Georgia. The title of his address is unknown: the text of the Wakefield address has not survived.

⁵³⁴ B. Nairn to J. Calvert, 14 April 2002 (privately held).

⁵³⁵ D. Pike, 'The commemorative business', *Scholarly Publishing: a journal for authors & publishers*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Toronto, 181, Canada, University of Toronto Press, July 1970) 331-346.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid*, 331.

different sections: purposes, methods and values. Unlike most of Pike's other writing, this article ranged widely across the centuries, and detailed a significant number of names and dates that readers outside the orbit of dictionary examiners would have found, for the most part, of little interest.⁵³⁷ Nevertheless, Pike included significant details relating to the history of the *ADB*, about which he doubtless knew more than anyone else. He mentioned the initial decision at the ANU in the decade before he came to the editorship, to compile a biographical list, which resulted by 1961 in an *ADB* 'register of some 20,000 cards' and with 'a governing body representing each university in Australia', plus 'a small editorial board in Canberra'.⁵³⁸ Pike's article then explained the *ADB* requirements that were maintained behind the public façade, and which had been decided upon following 'consultation with Professor George Brown, first general editor of the joint *Dictionary of Canadian Biography/Dictionnaire biographique du Canada (DCB/DBC)*'.⁵³⁹ Brown's decision to separate the work into chronological sections so as to diminish the danger of omission which could occur in a 'totally alphabetical system', was the plan accepted by the *ADB* for its proposed volumes. One difference was that:

where the Canadian plan provided for memoirs to be allotted to their appropriate section by death dates, the Australians opted for allocation by *floruit*, a fluid system that not only lubricated editorial tempers but also enabled close attention to one particular slab of history at a time.⁵⁴⁰

No doubt Pike chose the phrase, 'lubricated editorial tempers', as an autobiographical description reflecting his past several years. Nor was he to know that his editorial tasks would

⁵³⁷ Ibid, examples include cave drawings, ancient ruins and tombs, 331: in China, 'ancient dynastic biographies', 332: the Old Testament, 332: 'the first biographical collection in the English language', *Abel Redivivus: or the dead yet speaking. The Lives and Deaths of Moderne Divines*. Edited by Thomas Fuller and published in one volume in 1651, 332, 3: In Europe, France led the field with *Biographie Universelle*, 52 volumes in 1811-28, 333

⁵³⁸ Ibid, 336 (see this chapter, page 131): see Walsh (2001) 250-251.

⁵³⁹ Ibid, 336.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid (see this chapter, page 131).

be finished by sudden illness in a little over three years. In this article that Pike was not only presenting sections of early *ADB* history but ‘lifting the lid’ on his own inner feelings. Regardless of whatever else this paper revealed about the development of dictionaries, it provided an opportunity for Pike to record his own editorial philosophy in a long article where his ideas are mixed as part of the ingredients, rather than being headlined.

This is illustrated under the heading of ‘Methods’, where Pike noted that ‘the first desirable step is to appoint an editor’. He believed that such an editor should be the agreed choice of both the ‘sponsor and the management committee, and elected in time to have some share in determining the size of the enterprise, its purposes, and its methods’.⁵⁴¹ Pike enhanced his ideas in two sentences that read ‘tongue in cheek’ in a serious contribution.

The ideal editor should be young and healthy enough to survive the whole distance, and endowed with prophetic vision, wide experience, omniscience, infallible memory, the resolution of an autocrat tempered by consideration and apparent reasonableness, skill in mesmerism, the irresistibility of Satan, the patience of Job, wisdom beyond Solomon, legible handwriting, and mastery of detail; he should also be so great a celebrator of life that he blesses even drudgery. Since no such prodigy exists in male form (except in distorted biography), wise electors would do well to turn to the other sex for its renowned grace, sagacity, and happy devotion to little things.⁵⁴²

One item of correspondence that could link with the above mentioned issues was dated towards the end of the following year (1971). In a handwritten confidential letter, dated 15 October 1971, John La Nauze, who succeeded Sir Keith Hancock as Professor of History in

⁵⁴¹ Ibid, 340.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

the Research School of Social Sciences at ANU, wrote to Pike asking him to consider certain matters that could be discussed at a later occasion.⁵⁴³ Presumably this was in response to Pike's written or oral initiation of his eventual retirement, but there is no record of Pike's letter to La Nauze. La Nauze's reply stands alone as he responded: 'Why does any question arise early next year about your time of retirement'? He added that it should be at the end of 1973, and continued that in his thinking there would be strong opposition on principle to extending the term of any normal professional appointment beyond 65. La Nauze then asked Pike: 'Do you read your terms of appointment differently'?⁵⁴⁴

Pike must have known that 65 was the mandatory retirement age. On the evidence presented it can be assumed that there are at least two factors behind these seemingly unusual questions that formed the agenda for Pike's editorial position. One, as suggested above, was whether he was feeling the mental and physical strain of a demanding position that was going to stretch into the next decade without him at the helm to finish in the niche where he had found his main contribution to Australian history. The other was whether his eventual retirement could be delayed, or some as yet unknown arrangement formalised, in order for him to edit both volume five and then six which would complete 'the fourth of four for the 1851-1890 section'.⁵⁴⁵ Unbeknown to Pike or La Nauze, the decision was to be taken out of their hands.

During the interim, Pike received both commendation and recognition, for a month after the above correspondence, he joined two other notable Australians, Professor Robert Hanbury Brown and the artist, Arthur Boyd, each a recipient of \$10,000, plus a \$600 gold medallion and citation, of that year's Britannica Australia Awards in the fields of the arts,

⁵⁴³ La Nauze held the position from 1966-1976 and was Chairman of the ADB editorial board from 1966-1977, G. Walsh (1997) 100.

⁵⁴⁴ J. La Nauze to D. Pike, 15 October 1971, NLA MS 6869/1 & 7: the words 'early next year' were underlined by La Nauze who knew that Pike would turn 65 in November 1973.

⁵⁴⁵ B. Nairn, gen. ed. *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 6: 1851-1890, R-Z*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976) v.

humanities and science.⁵⁴⁶ Pike's award recognised his editorial contribution to the first three *ADB* volumes, with volume four awaiting publication.⁵⁴⁷

In the meantime, editorial proficiency from Pike and his staff, plus the continued competency of the same three section editors as for the previous volume (Nairn, Serle and Ward), brought together *ADB* volume four, which was published in 1972.⁵⁴⁸ Pike's working practice was that once the page proofs were checked by him for publication, he diverted his mind from the published volume to concentrate on the next production. He was known to possess a 'remarkable memory' which enabled him 'to recall surprising details about the hundreds of personalities being recorded', but claimed with mock modesty that he could 'only keep the details of five hundred personalities' in his head at one time.⁵⁴⁹ While he concentrated on volume five, a review on the fourth volume by C. Hartley Grattan was both commendatory and questioning.⁵⁵⁰ Grattan described the volume as 'very interesting' but questioned 'its disconnectedness both from the Australian sweep of time and from the full alphabet of initial letters of names' which he claimed 'causes a rather choppy effect on the reader'.⁵⁵¹ The same month (August) that volume four was published, Pike delivered the Eldershaw Memorial Lecture for 1972 entitled, 'The Making of a Biographical Dictionary', at the Teachers' Federation Building, Hobart, Tasmania and the next evening (9 August) in the Theatre of the Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁶ L. Nicklin, *Sydney Morning Herald* (18 November 1971) 3. Brown was Professor of Astronomy in the University of Sydney and Boyd had recently taken up a fellowship in creative arts at the ANU.

⁵⁴⁷ *The Australian* (18 November 1971) 2.

⁵⁴⁸ D. H. Pike, gen. ed. *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 4: 1851-1890, D-J*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1972).

⁵⁴⁹ ANU Reporter, 'A memory for "only 500"' (25 August 1972) 3.

⁵⁵⁰ C. H. Grattan, *Historical Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 61 (October 1973) 780-781: Grattan wrote from the University of Texas at Austin.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid*, 780.

⁵⁵² D. Pike, 'The Making of a Biographical Dictionary: The Eldershaw Memorial Lecture 1972', in *Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (December 1972) 139-146: for notice of Pike's forthcoming address see *THRA*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (June 1972) 84: see also R. C. Sharman, 'Eldershaw, Peter Ross (1927-1967) in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 14: 1940-1980, Di-Kel*, gen. ed., J. Ritchie (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1996) 86-87.

The Tasmanian lectures and subsequent publication echoed the themes of Pike's earlier article, 'The commemorative business', with references to numerous overseas libraries and dictionaries.⁵⁵³ A major addition in this re-write, more applicable to an Australian audience and readership, was an expanded account of people and events that led to the development of the *ADB*. Referring to the use of *floruit* rather than a death date, Pike explained that: 'In practice this decision enabled work to be concentrated closely in one chronological section, solved the problem of undistinguished longevity and removed the need of historical introductions'.⁵⁵⁴ He continued to expound the working out of this scheme:

In due course a target was set for some 6000 memoirs in 12 volumes divided into three sections: 1788-1850 (2 volumes); 1851-1890 (4 volumes); and 1891-1939 (6 volumes). Each section was to run in alphabetical sequence and each volume was to include about 500 entries, ranging in length from 200 words to a maximum of 6000. These decisions enabled the allocation of quotas to each state.⁵⁵⁵

Although results were at first minimal, the value became much clearer following the publication of volume one in 1966, by which time the full-time Canberra *ADB* staff numbered eight, plus 'a part-time research assistant in each Australian capital and London'.⁵⁵⁶

Pike enumerated various problems, including the selection of names for each volume, irrelevant suggestions, obtaining appropriate authors, errors discovered following publication plus the necessity for Corrigenda. He focused on the 1788-1850 section, explaining that 'each Archives in Australia has concentrated on the State's

⁵⁵³ 'The commemorative business', see page 152, footnote 535.

⁵⁵⁴ D. Pike (1972) 143.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

founding years. Some States started to register probates, births marriages and deaths before 1850, but most compulsory registration dates from responsible government'.⁵⁵⁷ In concluding his presentation Pike announced that one source for information was newspaper indexes, but because the forty years between 1850 and 1890 contained minimal detail, the *ADB* card system relied mainly on weekly journals and parliamentary records. 'Print is terrifyingly permanent and reliance on newspaper obituaries and collected biographies is dangerous. The *ADB* makes no claim to originality but its scholarly standards can fairly be attributed to co-operation and consultation'.⁵⁵⁸

Pike's original article of 1970 plus the re-write of 1972 comprise an *ADB* history from the perspective of an insider who occupied the founding-editor's chair, and inherited fall-out from the early days of personality clashes and administrative arguments. He experienced the communication problems of dealing with hundreds of contributors, many from overseas, plus the organisational juggling required in compiling hundreds of contributions for publication.⁵⁵⁹

Apart from volume five, which listed Pike as General Editor but was published during his final illness in 1974, one more publication was issued under his name.⁵⁶⁰ 'Making a Biographic Dictionary' reproduced Pike's 1972 Eldershaw Memorial Address through the courtesy of the Tasmanian Historical Research Society, but added no new material except for a photograph of Pike examining a volume of the *ADB* at his office desk.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid, 145.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid, 146.

⁵⁵⁹ A. Moyal (1995) chapter 9, 137-149; G. Walsh (2001) chapter 9, 249-268.

⁵⁶⁰ D. Pike, 'Making a Biographic Dictionary', in *Historians at Work: Investigating & Recreating the Past*, eds. D. Duffy, G. Harman, K. Swan (Sydney: Hicks Smith & Sons, 1973) 103-109.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid, 103.

During the year 1973, Pike was not only involved with his staff in preparing material for *ADB* volumes five and six, but issued his final book review, again on a biography of E. G. Wakefield.⁵⁶² Pike's opening paragraphs addressed the 'pros and cons' of an argument that the author had 'with herself' about her subject, although he agreed that 'this short study is not without value'.⁵⁶³ He noted the author's unbalanced emphasis on New South Wales, with no 'significant discussion of South Australia and New Zealand'.⁵⁶⁴

Awareness of Pike's impending retirement necessitated the appointment of a successor, and in July 1973, advertisements for a new General Editor, with a closing date of 30 September for applications, were published. Further information attached to the advertisements included the following, which gave an insight into the *ADB* organisation:

The Australian Dictionary of Biography, within the Research School of Social Sciences, has a staff of seven, in addition to Professor Pike. Mr. N. B. Nairn is a Senior Fellow of the University and a section editor for the period 1850-1890. He is also a section editor for the period 1891-1939. Mr H. J. Gibney is a Research Officer. There are three full-time and two part-time, research assistants, a clerk and a typist. Outside Canberra there are part-time research assistants in each capital city.⁵⁶⁵

During the following month (August), the acting Chairman of the *ADB* Editorial Board, Robin Gollan, forwarded a memorandum to the acting Director of the RASS concerning Pike's forthcoming retirement and the invitations for applicants to

⁵⁶² D. Pike (book review) J. Philipp, *A Great View of Things: Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (Melbourne, Thomas Nelson (Australia) Ltd., 1971) in *Historical Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 60 (April 1973) 648-649.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, 648.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁵ General Editor, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (13 July 1973) ADB 70/Q31.

fill the position. Gollan's priority was to retain Pike's services for some additional years, and he referred to a meeting ten months previously when he and three others had agreed: 'that after retirement from the university, Professor Pike should be given a contract at a suitable fee to enable him to complete to publication, volume 6 of the *Dictionary*, the fee to be underwritten by the University.' The figure suggested was \$10,000.⁵⁶⁶

The year drew towards a close and on 3 November 1963 Pike reached the age of sixty-five, to be followed by mandatory retirement at the end of December. Having worked in close association with Pike during the past several years, Bede Nairn had noticed that Pike's health was 'suffering, at least partly from his intense editorial efforts'.⁵⁶⁷ The chairman of the *ADB* editorial board, La Nauze, was one of a number also aware that Pike worked too hard and that during this decade as editor 'he never relaxed'.⁵⁶⁸ Less than two weeks after his birthday a letter from the ANU Registrar offered him an appointment as Visiting Fellow in the Department of History (*ADB*) from 1 January 1974 in order to work towards completing the fifth and sixth volumes.⁵⁶⁹

Within days of his birthday and quite unexpectedly while mowing his lawn on Armistice Day, Pike became seriously ill, suffered a cerebral thrombosis, and was taken to Canberra Hospital.⁵⁷⁰ By the end of November it was obvious that he would not recover sufficiently to return to his desk and the offer of a Visiting Fellowship was

⁵⁶⁶ The four participants were: Professor W. Borrie, R. Gollan, R. Hohnen and Professor J. La Nauze, meeting held 10 October 1972, NLA 1272, folder 98.

⁵⁶⁷ B. Nairn, gen. ed. 'The Foundation General Editor', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 6: 1851-1890, R-Z*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1976) xii.

⁵⁶⁸ J. A. La Nauze, 'Obituary: Douglas Henry Pike', in *Historical Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 64 (April 1975) 501.

⁵⁶⁹ Letter to D. Pike from D. K. R. Hodkin, Registrar ANU, 15 November 1973, NLA 6869/ 6.

⁵⁷⁰ R. Reid to J. Calvert, 2 August 2002, Pike's doctor (privately held): B. Nairn (2002) 2.

withdrawn for the immediate future, with the words ‘humane terms’ being the key expression in case his condition did improve sufficiently to permit a return to work.⁵⁷¹

It was soon evident that Pike’s condition was terminal and a considerate but definitely worded letter from the Vice-Chancellor to Olive Pike confirmed that Pike would not be able to take up the Visiting Fellowship and complete the Dictionary volumes. In Pike’s absence, Bede Nairn had been appointed acting General Editor until the end of 1973, but in the light of Pike’s medical condition, Nairn would finish the work while steps to appoint a new General Editor continued.⁵⁷²

Pike remained on life-support until he died in hospital on Sunday 19 May 1974.⁵⁷³ A private non-religious funeral service followed by cremation was conducted in the Canberra cemetery building two days later. The *ADB* article on Pike described the service with ‘Presbyterian forms’, but Pike had not professed religion following his resignation from the ministry and certainly not evangelical Christianity as had his missionary parents and siblings, but rather embraced humanist ideas. Such humanist thinking extended back to his sons’ high school days, for despite them attending a church college, Pike would write notes to the school exempting his sons from attending religious instruction classes. He believed all religions should be grouped together, not separated into Protestant or Christian denominations.⁵⁷⁴ Olive Pike did not attend the funeral and was kept company at home by her friend Patsy Hill. Olive

⁵⁷¹ J. La Nauze to G. Sawyer, Acting Director RSSH, 30 November 1973, NLA 6869/1 & 6, Box 7.

⁵⁷² *ADB* confidential report under names of R. Gollan and J. La Nauze to members of the Editorial Board, *ADB* 70/Q31: ANU Vice-Chancellor to O. Pike, signed by D. K. R. Hodgkin, Registrar, 24 January 1974, ANU, 1272, folder 122.

⁵⁷³ J. Rees, ‘Obituary’, *Canberra Times* (21 May 1974) 3: J. A. La Nauze (April 1975) 498-502.

⁵⁷⁴ B. Nairn (2002) 2: A. Pike - J. Calvert interview, 25 June 2002 (privately held); D. Pike Jr. - J. Calvert, 10 April 2007, interview (privately held).

lived in the family home and was attended by carers until she entered Canberra's Morling Lodge, the Baptist Retirement Home, where she died in the early 1990s.⁵⁷⁵

In March 1974 the ANU honoured Pike by conferring the title of Emeritus Professor. Olive Pike responded by letter but there is no record that Pike was aware of the honour. That same month, Bede Nairn's position as acting General Editor was extended until Pike's successor was appointed.⁵⁷⁶ Olive Pike was her husband's sole beneficiary with probate granted from the Permanent Trustee Company (Canberra) and administered by their Executor, Dr. Thomas Dudley Hagger (Olive's brother). University pension and superannuation payments totalled some \$55,000.⁵⁷⁷

Until his collapse Pike and his staff had worked on compiling the next Dictionary volume. The year he died, *ADB* volume five was published which included Pike's Preface. Reference was included in the final paragraph of 'Acknowledgments' to his illness, adding that a tribute to his service would be included in the following volume.⁵⁷⁸ As with previous publications, a review by C. Hartley Grattan described it as 'an exceptionally rich instalment. It contains sketches of careers which still engage the imaginations of living men and women, at least those of them who have some feeling for the past'.⁵⁷⁹ His request, rather than complaint, was 'wondering what these men and women looked like', followed by a recommendation for 'a volume of (an) Australian book of portraits', arranged chronologically and 'edited in close relation to

⁵⁷⁵ A. J. and P. Hill - J. Calvert interview, 17 July 2002 (privately held). Alec Hill and his wife Patsy were friends and neighbours of the Pikes. Alec Hill is a former history lecturer at RMC Duntroon and a contributor to the *ADB*.

⁵⁷⁶ W. S. Hamilton ANU Registrar to D. Pike, 14 March 1974; O. Pike to W. S. Hamilton, 2 April 1974; G. E. Dicker, Acting Academic Registrar to N. B. Nairn, 3 January 1974 & 19 March 1974, ANU 1272 & 1272C. 9. 2. 5. 38 papers.

⁵⁷⁷ Letters between ANU and Permanent Trustee (Canberra), 26 July 1974, 18 September 1974, 17 March 1975, ANU 1272 & 1272C. 9.2.5.38 papers.

⁵⁷⁸ D. H. Pike, gen. ed. *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 5: 1851-1890, K-Q* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1974) v & vii.

⁵⁷⁹ C. H. Grattan, *Historical Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 64 (April 1975) 462-464.

the *ADB*'.⁵⁸⁰ Grattan made no criticisms of the volume, nor any reference to Pike's illness and used the final paragraph to advertise his 'portrait' suggestion.

The promised tribute to Pike, covering a two-page biographical sketch of his life, plus insights into 'a complex and efficient production system' for the *Dictionary*, appeared in volume 6 under the signature of acting General Editor, Bede Nairn.⁵⁸¹ Glimpses of Pike's personality and character, namely his 'energy and foresight', managerial skills, tact, 'country pioneering' years and 'natural courtesy' were illustrative of qualities he brought into the task of organising the project.⁵⁸² Pike, writes Nairn, 'had developed a flair for lean prose' and 'had acquired a distaste for adjectives and adverbs'. In addition, 'he was a great raconteur and more than once claimed that when a minister he could always reduce his sermons to one sentence as he ascended the pulpit'. However, he did not expect his authors to do the same, although 'often gave the impression that he wanted something like it'.⁵⁸³

Nairn's tribute, from one who had worked closely with him, continued to disclose traits of the first General Editor that were not obvious to casual observation, and 'lift the lid' on Pike's identity and place in Australian history during his time period:

his work on the *Dictionary* revealed him as incomparably the country's best academic editor. He was quietly spoken, with a dry but genial sense of humour, leavened by the wisdom that flowed from his innate generosity and his spacious experience and fertile memory; his personal qualities

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid, 464.

⁵⁸¹ B. Nairn, (1976) xi-xii: see J. Thompson, *The Patrician and the Bloke: Geoffrey Serle and the Making of Australian History* (Canberra, Pandanus Books, ANU, 2006) 249, Nairn, Geoffrey Serle and Russel Ward were section editors for volumes 3 to 5, and the latter two for volume 6, with Nairn as acting General Editor for volume 6: see also *ADB* Q31/70.

⁵⁸² Nairn (1976) xi.

⁵⁸³ Ibid, xii.

complemented his erudition to enable him to grasp the total substance of the *Dictionary* as well as the significance of every article and its relationship to the whole. He was conscious of the constraint to keep volumes and articles within the allotted word lengths, but was equally aware of the individuality of each author and the uniqueness of each entry.⁵⁸⁴

On the occasion of Pike's death, his elder sister Allison Butler, submitted an article on her brother's life to their former school paper, the *Chefoo Magazine*. Entitled, 'In Memoriam', the tribute does not give information additional to our research except for a sibling's tribute: 'He was affectionate and generous by nature. Witty and helpful, his students admired him, but powerful and persuasive in debate there were also those who feared him. Never robust, he had an iron will and in spite of setbacks and disappointments, achieved some of his highest ambitions'.⁵⁸⁵ In these few sentences, written by one who knew him all his life, lies a clearer picture than could be presented by anyone else. Throughout this thesis we have included views of Pike from his brothers, plus church and university contacts. Additional opinions will be gleaned from colleagues and friends in the next chapter, but Allison's few sentences, written from outside an academic mindset, are from the heart of a sister who in many ways mothered him and always kept in contact as the family letter writer. However, there are no extant copies of letters between Pike and his sister.

The above commendations relate to the final decade of Pike's life and work and need to be seen as the outworking of his earlier years as a teacher of history in

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ A. Butler (nee Pike), In Memoriam to Douglas H. Pike, May 1974 (privately held): 'Allison did all the letter writing and kept contact in the family', Alf Pike - J. Calvert interview, 21 June 2002 (privately held).

Western Australia, South Australia and Tasmania. Alongside that observation, it must be recognised that Pike spent as many years in the outback during the depression years as occupying the *ADB* editorial chair. His period in theological study and pastoral ministry comprised another decade, and prior to that there were his formative sixteen years in China. The five distinct but connected stages of Pike's life covered two countries, five states and involvement in five universities. A remarkable spread over sixty-five years of varied life and experience that marked Douglas Pike and his contribution to Australian history as unique.

CHAPTER 7: DOUGLAS PIKE AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

After its lusty youth Adelaide became sedate, gentle and unenterprising. No new ideas disturbed the calm of orthodoxy as generation succeeded generation. The leading colonists had fought hard for the things they wanted, but when the struggle was over they seemed to have exhausted their enterprise and lost the ability to lead. Perhaps their ideas, bred in opposition, were intrinsically unfruitful in office; certainly their habits of mind had grown suspicious and obstructive. A negative past held them captive and for nearly a century, until leadership, expansion and experiment revived, denied them the rewards of constructive freedom. Wakefield's promises were not for them but for their children's children.⁵⁸⁶

The previous chapter examined the contribution through writing and editing that Pike brought to Australian history during the final decade of his life in Canberra. In this chapter I will investigate three more components of his life: his suggestion for compiling history, a question about his title, *Paradise of Dissent*; and an appreciation of South Australia and Australia's 'forgotten historian'. The first area involves the only extant advice given on history writing by Pike. The information was passed on to me almost ten years ago by Jack Cross, one of Pike's post-graduate students at the University of Adelaide.⁵⁸⁷ The original copy, held by Cross, was written by him on aging foolscap paper in 1958, and is quoted below without alteration. Pike's advice was submitted by Cross and published in *Facts & Events: mainly South Australian*, during April 1994.⁵⁸⁸ This small publication, edited by former South

⁵⁸⁶ D. H. Pike (1957) Chapter XX, 516.

⁵⁸⁷ Following his graduation Jack Cross was an Associate Professor at the University of South Australia.

⁵⁸⁸ J. Cross, 'Historiography – D. H. Pike's advice in 1958', ed. G. Fischer, *Historical FACTS & EVENTS: mainly South Australian*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (April 1994) 43 & 44.

Australian Archivist, Gerald Fischer, was produced for ten years between August 1986 and April 1996.

- 1) Spare no effort to cover all possible sources of information. Having noted them in a general way go back and re-note the significant documents again and again. Use a variety of systems of noting: sequential, subject groupings etc., to draw attention to different relationships.
- 2) Try to develop an individualistic approach. Lean upon the supervisor as little as possible. When the time comes to formulate the basic conclusions get right away into the country and arrive at your own interpretations.
- 3) Put a lot of thought into the actual writing. Each part should be re-written at least ten or twelve times over.
- 4) Write according to the literary standards of a history book; not according to the standards of the traditional learned thesis.
- 5) Write as if an observer. Dismantle the scaffolding on which the narrative is built as much as possible. Avoid as far as you can phrases like 'the evidence suggests that'. This kind of tentative history is seldom interesting.
- 6) Write as if for publication. Direct your writing at an intelligent Australian lay audience. Do not write for academics, least of all for historians. Study carefully the publishing conditions in Australia in the 1960s. For instance, about 70,000 words is a good publishable length.
- 7) Keep a close contact with ordinary people, who will mainly be the subject of your research and writing. Historians are only as good as their experience of, and insight into, people.

8) Keep your standards high. Try to work at the thesis full-time (sic) part time research and writing is the bane of Australian historiography.

Whether Pike derived such advice from his own supervisor and mentor, Professor G. V. Portus is unknown, but Pike was associated with Portus as a student and colleague for more than a decade. UNSW historian Gerald Walsh echoes some of the above advice, particularly sections 1, 2 and 7, when he describes Pike's *Paradise of Dissent* and his *Australia: the Quiet Continent* as looking 'at Australian history 'through spectacles not made in the eastern states''.⁵⁸⁹

Pike followed his own advice in 2) above: 'Try to develop an individualistic approach'. His writing style was uniquely his own, as demonstrated, for example, by the third chapter of his Master's thesis. Under the chapter heading, 'If thine eye be single ...' follows a section comparing G. F. Angas and E. G. Wakefield, where he states:⁵⁹⁰

The promoters of South Australia were roughly grouped as theorists and capitalists. If Angas was the power behind the throne representing the capitalists, the chief theorist was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. There was much in common between the two men, but far more to distinguish them. They were both single minded in their attachment to South Australia. They agreed in their settled distrust of the capacity, the intentions and the integrity of all members of the Colonial Office. But beyond that they were poles apart.⁵⁹¹

To the contrary, he did not follow his own advice in 8) above: 'Try to work at the thesis full-time (sic) part time research and writing is the bane of Australian historiography'.

⁵⁸⁹ G. Walsh (1997) 121.

⁵⁹⁰ King James Version of Matthew 6: 22 in the Sermon on the Mount.

⁵⁹¹ D. H. Pike (1950) 100.

He must have longed for opportunity to research and write full-time in the midst of his responsibilities as Reader at Adelaide. My assessment of Pike's advice suggests that much of it was 'tongue in cheek'. Numbers 3, 4 and 6 are three of his points that initiate questions. (3) What post-graduate student has time or inclination to re-write each part 'at least ten or twelve times over'? (4) On the contrary, post-graduate students are required to follow 'the standards of the traditional learned thesis'. (6) Pike's Master's thesis was not published and not to write for 'academics, least of all for historians', begs the question of attempting a thesis. These three admonitions alone were not practical in the 1950s.

The second investigation provides a further illustration of Pike's individualistic writing approach, apparent not only in his often unique chapter headings and manner of sentence expression, but in the title of his doctoral thesis and major publication, *Paradise of Dissent*. A question concerning the origin of the title was raised by Gerald Fischer, as editor of *Facts and Events*.⁵⁹² Fischer had known Pike personally but the origin of the title was not raised during their association, nor had Pike referred to any source for his thesis title. The matter featured again in the journal's next edition by a contributor, CJH, who suggested that the phrase 'Paradise of Dissent' referred to a familiar pattern, 'eg. paradise of exiles, of fools, for women, for horses, etc.'⁵⁹³ So it may be Pike's own cryptic variant of this stock collocation of terms. CJH mentioned a close and wry parallel in the poet Keats: 'Fanatics have their dreams, wherewith they weave a paradise for a sect', and agreed that it typified Pike's writing as 'a witty and ironic title'.⁵⁹⁴ The following year (1995) Fischer wrote an extensive passage referring to the previous material and indicated that his own original query was partly prompted by Peter Ward's comments in *The Adelaide Review*.⁵⁹⁵ Fischer traced the term 'paradise of dissent' via Ward's screed and his source for the expression in a work by

⁵⁹² G. Fischer, ed. Historical FACTS & EVENTS: mainly South Australian, Vol. 9, No. 1 (August 1994) 24.

⁵⁹³ i.e. Colin John Horne, emeritus professor of English at the University of Adelaide, *Who's Who in Australia 1994*, XXXth edition (Melbourne, Information Australia Group Pty. Ltd. Melbourne) 753.

⁵⁹⁴ G. Fischer, ed. Vol. 9, No. 2 (December 1994) 44 & 45.

⁵⁹⁵ P. Ward, *The Adelaide Review* (July 1994) 5.

Suzanne Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora*, in a discussion on State aid to religion in South Australia, and further to *Neither toleration nor favour: the Australian chapter of Jewish emancipation*, by Israel Getzler. Fischer's investigations are too extensive to present in this thesis, but he found no definitive conclusion for the origin of the phrase, 'Paradise of Dissent'.⁵⁹⁶

One further clue is contained in Pike's Master's thesis where replaced the word 'kingdom' with 'paradise'. Again, however, there is no indication as to the reason for such an alteration. In the same context stated above regarding Angas and Wakefield, Pike originally wrote: 'Like Angas striving after his kingdom of the godly, Wakefield saw in colonization the most likely means for establishing his kingdom of the prudent'.⁵⁹⁷ The thesis was typed and alterations were made by pen. In the above sentence the word 'paradise' has been added and the original expression 'kingdom' crossed out in respect to both men. Pike's altered sentence reads: 'Like Angas striving after his paradise of the godly, Wakefield saw in colonization the most likely means for establishing his paradise of the prudent'.⁵⁹⁸ The origin of the term remains a mystery but the three words; 'Paradise of Dissent', are an apt description of Pike's work and typify his unique choice of expression.

The third area of research is divided into two sections in seeking a greater understanding and appreciation of South Australia and Australia's 'forgotten historian'. First: opinions from one's peers and biographical assessment will vary despite similarities in some viewpoints. John Legge remembers Pike from the early 1950s as: 'Unassuming but firm. A man of high scholarship standards of a traditional kind (before the days of critical theory)'.⁵⁹⁹ Ken Inglis, who had worked with Pike in Adelaide during the late 1950s, adds; 'he was shy,

⁵⁹⁶ G. Fischer, Vol. 9, No. 3 (April 1995) 58-61.

⁵⁹⁷ D. H. Pike (1950) 102.

⁵⁹⁸ I have underlined the word paradise to show Pike's alteration.

⁵⁹⁹ J. Legge to J. Calvert, 1 October 2002 (privately held); Legge was chair of history at Monash University; A. Shaw to J. Calvert, 27 July 2002 (privately held).

charming, good humoured, liked to tell stories with his head on one side'.⁶⁰⁰ John Molony's recollections from the mid-1960s depict Pike's academic ability as; 'thorough, precise, never flamboyant, hardworking (too much for his own good) austere and reserved. His writing reflected all these qualities'.⁶⁰¹ In an interview by 'Capitalletter' recorded in the *Canberra Times* one month before *ADB* volume three was published in 1969, Pike was described as; 'a small, slow and quietly spoken man ... whose pencil is forever poised to strike out unnecessary adjectives in the biographies of Australia's famous and infamous sons'.⁶⁰² Robin Gollan, then a member of the *ADB* editorial board, recalls Pike often wandering into his (Gollan's) study, 'puffing his pipe and starting in the middle of a sentence – the first part of which I had not heard'.⁶⁰³ Niel Gunson, an associate during ANU days, adds; 'he was an understanding man, down to earth with a quiet sense of humour ... a good historian and deservedly regarded as eminent'.⁶⁰⁴ Such memories are typical of Pike as he was remembered by family, friends and associates. There was never a hint of scandal, deceit. or behind-the-scenes manoeuvring to obtain his own way.

If he was self-opinionated it expressed his conviction in being sure of his ground. Acknowledging that the last word cannot be written in referring to the 500-odd biographies in the forthcoming *ADB* volume, Pike recounted his response when challenged by an unnamed questioner about his own research methods. Replying to the suggestion that his assessment was incompatible with an 1828 census: 'The census was wrong', Pike answered.⁶⁰⁵ One can imagine his ironic humour. Gerald Walsh, one of the longest serving contributors to the *ADB*, describes Pike as 'deliberate and unruffled, with a laconic and good sense of humour ... one

⁶⁰⁰ K. Inglis to J. Calvert, 8 January 2002 (privately held).

⁶⁰¹ J. Molony to J. Calvert, 29 May 2002 (privately held).

⁶⁰² 'Capitalletter: Pike's own time', *Canberra Times* (20 March 1969) 3, Q31/ADB 59; 'Capitalletter', a pseudonym: W. Birman to J. Calvert, 30 October 2002; 'Doug presented as a kindly, gentle man but one with keen intellect and humour'.

⁶⁰³ R. Gollan to J. Calvert 10 May 2002 (privately held): see also 'Capitalletter', 20 March 1969.

⁶⁰⁴ N. Gunson to J. Calvert, 9 July 2007 (privately held).

⁶⁰⁵ 'Capitalletter' (20 March 1969) 3.

who did not suffer fools gladly ... particularly hard on sloppy, dishonest work and academic poseurs'.⁶⁰⁶ Walsh added that Pike disliked 'cant and humbug' and 'likened an academic from another university, who took up the crumbs of other research, as "a bird sitting on the stockyard rail and flying down to pick out wheat grains from a cow pad"'.⁶⁰⁷ Such ingrained bush expressions Pike could not include in editorial comments, were mixed with the ingredients of his off-duty conversations that are reminiscent of his 'lifting the lid' newspaper articles from the previous decade.

Second: the ways in which a person views themselves and others is both subjective and biased to a degree that may illustrate pride or humility or both. Pike saw himself as living in the 19th century; 'I prefer it to the 20th century'.⁶⁰⁸ His use of pencil and fountain pen in early writing and editorial work placed him in that century. One can only guess at his opinion of 21st century computers and increased technology in performing editorial tasks. Family history never witnessed Pike returning physically to the bush, but a clear comparison with his past suggests he, at times, mentally relived his country decade:

The time in the bush gave me a sense of resolution, that time matters. All the old crap about doing a job well done for its own satisfaction. The daily satisfaction when out fencing, seeing all the fence posts level. In this job you don't any tangible result for years.⁶⁰⁹

One insight into 'tangible results' that encouraged Pike before he moved to Canberra, was revealed in a personal handwritten letter to Gerald Walsh, commending the latter's first *ADB* submission on the manufacturer James Wilshire (1771-1840).⁶¹⁰ Extracts show Pike's

⁶⁰⁶ G. Walsh to J. Calvert, 112 April 2002 (privately held).

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ 'Capitalletter' (1969) 3.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ D. Pike to G. Walsh, 19 February 1963 (copy privately held with permission to quote): see G. P. Walsh, 'Wilshire, James (1771-1840)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2, 1788-1850, I-Z, gen. ed. D. Pike (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1967) 608-609.

editorial requirements: Wilshire's 'enterprise and energy come out clearly, in contrast to many articles where the man is lost behind a great mass of factual data'.⁶¹¹ Pike then raised 'the prime question: What will users look for in the Dictionary'? He answered his own query by suggesting that: 'most will want specific information in dates and places ... If I'm right, then information becomes more important than interpretation, and that in turn raises the problems of word length'.⁶¹² Pike suggested the deletion of some, 'phrases of fact, on the grounds of relevance;' i.e. names that 'have some importance but do not bear directly on Wilshire's own personal story'. He referred to Walsh's article as 'a delight,' and expressed his gratitude.⁶¹³ The tone of Pike's letter was both warm and helpful in not glossing over suggested improvements. Later that same year (1963), Pike wrote in a similar vein to Niel Gunson, grateful for his 'helpful list of suggested inclusions for the first two periods of the *ADB*'.⁶¹⁴ Similar characteristics, remembered by Geoffrey Bolton, permeated *ADB* national committee gatherings during the 1960s, where participants ranged from young academics like Bolton to elder statesmen like Sir Norman Cowper: 'Each meeting ran more smoothly than its predecessor. He (Pike) had the knack of producing teamwork even among delegates who met' only spasmodically.⁶¹⁵

The expression 'tangible results' is shown in a historian's need to check original sources, necessary in editorial research and thesis examination. Pike and Bolton were co-examiners for the oral component of a doctoral presentation. The thesis context was a regional history and Pike 'drew the candidate's attention to a passage in which he asserted that before the construction of a certain railway, cattlemen had to drove their livestock as much as thirty miles a day'.⁶¹⁶ Pike queried the accuracy and the reply claimed it to be; 'in the minutes of

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ D. Pike to N. Gunson, 7 September 1963 (copy to J. Calvert, 21 July 2007; privately held).

⁶¹⁵ G. Bolton to J. Calvert, 11 May 2002 (privately held).

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

evidence before a select committee. Had the candidate any direct experience of droving cattle? No'. Pike, with years of farming experience behind him, gently responded, 'that even experienced drovers would not expect to shift cattle more than eight or at the most ten miles in any one day'. The candidate replied that his information was in the evidence. Pike led the candidate to realise that errors in note-taking, mistakes by the select committee reporter, or questions about the statistic were appropriate and essential in research. Bolton concludes that the candidate passed.⁶¹⁷

Pike's desire for 'tangible results' is revealed also in comments by two of his *ADB* associates. Both Martha Campbell and Gerald Walsh refer to Pike's own writing practice and his expectations from others. He had a fetish against using the word 'concern' and expressed himself 'in a simple straightforward prose, lucid and concise'.⁶¹⁸ Claiming there were no adjectives or adverbs in the Old Testament book of Psalms, Pike advocated their non-use in *ADB* contributions, and instead advised a stronger use of 'verbs'.⁶¹⁹

Understanding Pike's non-academic persona is also pertinent to an appreciation of the man. What were his interests behind the obvious role of a pioneer editor of Australian historiography? The Pike's circle of friends extended beyond academic colleagues in their enjoyment of social engagements and consisted of elaborate formal dinner parties prepared by Olive Pike. These were not spontaneous affairs and their frequency, sometimes on a monthly basis, was a pattern in Adelaide and Hobart, apparently less in Canberra. Guests generally consisted of six to eight colleagues, including friends and their wives or visiting academics. Olive also held formal Sunday afternoon tea parties for academic colleagues including their children. In such ways Olive enhanced her husband's circle of friends outside working hours,

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ M. Campbell - J. Calvert interview, 14 July 2004 (privately held).

⁶¹⁹ Ibid: G. Walsh to J. Calvert, 26 June 2002 (privately held).

although Douglas Pike argued strongly against his wife's tendency to spend time and money on such elaborate and expensive tastes, and preferred 'a fairly plain life-style'.⁶²⁰

Insights from within the family also come from Kay Malins who married Douglas Pike Jr. in 1969.⁶²¹ She remembers her late father-in-law, of whom she was very fond, as 'always calm, and (who) always spoke in measured terms but there was always an underlying impish, dry sense of humour'.⁶²² Douglas Jr. recollects his father's propensity to regale dinner party guests with witty stories and jokes that had no meaning. 'There's the story Dad used to tell about Twinning's tea; a story about nothing ... and the one about the boy who went up the stairs on his stilts, warned by his mother he would fall; but the boy denied that would occur'.⁶²³ Douglas Jr. continued: 'everyone used to laugh and Dad would kill himself laughing the next day, because they were laughing at nothing'.⁶²⁴ Malins remembered Pike's characteristic habit following Sunday night tea, which she and her husband, Douglas Jr., regularly attended. Pike would arrange dishes and utensils in the same particular order on each occasion. They were washed in sequence with no interference allowed; and she was privileged to dry the dishes while he told jokes and stories.⁶²⁵ During daylight weekend hours, Pike often spent long periods assisting Douglas Jr. and Kay at their new Canberra home, plus digging in the garden to assist his own wife, and singing 'popular songs from the 1930s and 1940s' in a 'strong, loud and accurate baritone voice'.⁶²⁶ Paving courtyards and building stone walls was Pike's relaxation from Western Australian days in the late 1940s, and during his first five years in Canberra, 'he used about ten tons of stone'.⁶²⁷ Evening leisure at home consisted of playing scrabble, reading detective novels, histories and classical literature, plus

⁶²⁰ A. Pike to J. Calvert, 24 August 2003 (privately held); S. O'Neill to J. Calvert, 11 October 2002 (privately held).

⁶²¹ K. Malins to J. Calvert, 26 June 2002 (privately held).

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ D. Pike Jr. - J. Calvert interview, 1 March 2002 (privately held).

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ Ibid: A. Pike to J. Calvert, 24 August 2003 (privately held).

⁶²⁷ 'Capitalletter', 1969, 3: W. Birman to J. Calvert, 30 October 2002 (privately held).

ABC television during the latter Canberra years.⁶²⁸ The human characteristics displayed by Pike in his family environment reveal one who enjoyed his home life, and was not influenced by peer pressure or social expectations into extravagant demonstration.

A way to sum up this chapter is by reference to one area of Pike's research in the 1940s and 1950s. In preparation for his Masters and Doctoral theses, he concerned himself with the influence of E. G. Wakefield on the proposed colony of South Australia. This research continued and by mid-1973 he had amassed two tea-chests full of manuscripts but his idea of writing a book on Wakefield never eventuated; a decision that further revealed Pike's refusal to engage his pen in unworthy topics. His reply to Cambridge University Press in response to their request that he contribute such a volume 'for the Cambridge Introduction to the History of Mankind,' reveals his opinion:

Wakefield's alleged work as an empire builder cannot be justified ... I am pressed from all sides to justify my criticisms of him, but remain reluctant to spoil my dotage in exposing a rogue, however adored by his biographers. I hope that this letter will help you to ignore the proposal to include him in the series. He is not worth it.⁶²⁹

Three months later Pike unexpectedly laid down his editorial pen and within six months his death was announced. The month after Pike's death a letter arrived for John La Nauze from E. T. Williams, Rhodes House, Oxford, England. 'Thank you for letting me know about Douglas Pike, a rare spirit, craggy and honest, straight out of Bunyan. I always emerged at once refreshed and chastened. We shall not look again upon his like'.⁶³⁰ Presumably Williams meant 'emerged' from conversation or a meeting with Pike.

⁶²⁸ D. Pike to J. Calvert, 18 August 2003; A. Pike to J. Calvert, 24 August 2003 (privately held).

⁶²⁹ D. Pike to A. Boyd, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 9 August 1973, Box 3, MS No. 6869; file: Wakefield notes.

⁶³⁰ E. T. Williams, Rhodes House, Oxford to J. La Nauze, 12 June 1974, Q31/ADB 59 Staff files.

Bede Nairn, who compiled the biographical entry on Pike for the *ADB*, contacted John Ritchie, the joint-editor with Diane Langmore, regarding Williams' reference. 'It's a fitting tribute to a good and erudite man'. However, Nairn regarded the Williams' quote as, 'just a little patronising – I will not include it'.⁶³¹ We can only guess at the reasons behind Williams' reference to the seventeenth-century author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, John Bunyan.⁶³² Whether Nairn, who thought highly of Pike, was concerned lest a wrong impression of his friend was conveyed cannot be determined, but Nairn's own words are a fitting tribute to Douglas Henry Pike: 'He was a gentle person and a gentleman, inclined to be reticent, but firm. He was always in control of himself, determined, even enthusiastic, but never impatient or precipitant'.⁶³³

⁶³¹ B. Nairn to J. Ritchie, no date, Q31/ADB 59 Staff files.

⁶³² John Bunyan, 1628-1688, puritan writer and preacher.

⁶³³ B. Nairn to J. Calvert, 10 April 2002 (privately held).

CONCLUSION

The period from 1961, when Australia's population doubled to 18 million and the number of universities increased from 10 to 38, saw an unprecedented expansion in the teaching and writing of Australian history. Not only were more universities and schools teaching Australian history but new specialist areas of the subject were opened up. These areas included Aboriginal, labour, women's, military and sporting history. ... Historiography also received more attention ... this development owed much to better library facilities, the increasing organisation and availability of public and private archives, as well as to the stimulus provided by the publication of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.⁶³⁴

The previous chapter has examined Douglas Pike's historiography including an appreciation of his role as South Australia's and Australia's 'forgotten historian'. In this concluding section I will assess Pike's contribution and standing in a period when Australian history was both maturing and becoming popular as an academic discipline. Walsh concluded the above paragraph: 'For the first time in Australia, historians – Manning Clark and Geoffrey Blainey – became household names'.⁶³⁵ Within the parameters of these final paragraphs I will include Clark and add John La Nauze and Geoffrey Serle, both of whom were associated with Pike, but exclude Blainey.⁶³⁶ Although neither La Nauze nor Pike can be regarded as 'household names' and Serle was better known as a Victorian an assessment of historiography during the second half of the twentieth century would be incomplete without taking account of their contribution.

⁶³⁴ G. Walsh, *Australia History and Historians*, (Canberra, The University of New South Wales, 1997) 15.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ G. Blainey (1930 -) contributed to the *ADB* but was not associated with the ANU as were the other historians.

Manning Clark (1915-1991), an initial member of the *ADB* national committee, has been regarded as Australia's 'most famous historian'.⁶³⁷ He wrote the monumental six-volume *A History of Australia* (1962-1987), was associated with Pike as a section editor for *ADB* volume one, and became arguably the best known of his peers in the latter twentieth century. John La Nauze (1911-1989) also an initial member of the *ADB* national committee, and a 'model of austere, dedicated scholarship', worked closely with Pike when he succeeded Keith Hancock as professor of history at the ANU in 1966.⁶³⁸ Geoffrey Serle (1922-1998), another initial member of the *ADB* national committee, chairman of the *ADB* Victorian working party and a contributor from the first volume, became *ADB* joint-editor with Bede Nairn following Pike's death, and after Nairn's retirement was the sole editor. Described as 'the doyen of Victorian historians', he always kept his home base in the Melbourne suburb of Hawthorn.⁶³⁹ A further common denominator was that all three - Clark, La Nauze and Serle - did post-graduate studies at Oxford, taught at the University of Melbourne and worked at the ANU during Pike's tenure. Pike's country decade, ministerial training and post-graduate work at the University of Adelaide meant he travelled a different path to the *ADB* than the others, but they were all associated during its initial years.

Clark's teaching and influence on Serle as an undergraduate at the University of Melbourne has been documented by John Thompson.⁶⁴⁰ The University of Western Australia was the undergraduate scene for La Nauze who studied under the economic historian E. O. G. Shann, a Melbourne graduate.⁶⁴¹ Pike, as shown in previous chapters, received his undergraduate training from Portus and Oldham at Adelaide. Although these four academics

⁶³⁷ C. Bridge, 'Clark, (Charles) Manning Hope (1915-91)' in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 128.

⁶³⁸ F. B. Smith, 'La Nauze, John Andrew (1911-1989)', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 372.

⁶³⁹ S. Macintyre, 'Serle, (Alan) Geoffrey (1922-1998)' in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 585.

⁶⁴⁰ J. Thompson (2006) 14-5, 134-5.

⁶⁴¹ G. Walsh, 'La Nauze, John Andrew (1911-1990)' *Australia History and Historians*, Australian Defence Force Academy (Canberra The University of New South Wales, 1997) 100.

contributed significantly to Australian history in the post-war decades, and Pike's contribution as a scholar in the development of historical research and writing was significant, his reputation and influence seem less than those of his peers. The question is, why?

Serle's reminiscences in Thompson's biography paint a graphic picture of Clark teaching Australian history in Melbourne:

He was a brilliant and charismatic teacher who quickly won a strong following. Serle was impressed from the outset. He always rated Clark's teaching – but not his writing – as his greatest achievement. For him, in those stimulating years, Clark fulfilled his hopes of what a university teacher might be – 'learned, provocative, stimulating, entertaining and a great friend.'⁶⁴²

Clark's copious writing - including *A Short History of Australia*, *Meeting Soviet Man*, and the two-volume autobiography *The Puzzles of Childhood* and *The Quest for Grace*, plus his media presentations, - kept him in the public eye. La Nauze's two-volume biography of Australia's second prime minister, *Alfred Deakin* and his volume, *Making of the Australian Constitution*, brought him into national prominence, although without significant media exposure. Neither was Serle involved in the media, but as a son of the well-known Percival Serle who compiled a biographical dictionary, Geoffrey Serle, Reader at Monash University, and author of more than a dozen books including the well-known biographies of *John Monash*, *Robin Boyd* and *John Curtin*, achieved standing through his associations, teaching and writing. Pike's biographical output consisted of hundreds of entries written and edited for the *ADB* but he did not author a single large volume in that genre, nor was he a media personality. He came to the attention of a wider readership during the two years his 'popular history' was published in the *Adelaide News*, but this was confined to South Australia. Pike's

⁶⁴² J. Thompson (2006) 135.

widely acclaimed *Paradise of Dissent* was also centred in South Australia while *Australia: the Quiet Continent* was used as a school text-book. Both books became widely known, whereas Pike himself was soon immersed in *ADB* requirements. Geoffrey Bolton's estimation of Pike's writing is appropriate: '*Paradise of Dissent* I thought a model of Australian provincial history, and it helped to shape my thinking that Australian history is best understood as a mosaic of regions rather than as a 'monstrous tribe'.'⁶⁴³ Pike's work in latter years focused largely on his desk and his staff at ANU, and his meticulous concern to eliminate scholarly error left minimal time for writing beyond talks and journal articles that originated from his own research.

Douglas Pike's teaching years were essentially as Reader at the University of Adelaide during the 1950s, when he wrote his Masters and Doctoral theses, travelled overseas, and suffered heart problems. Recollections from more than half a century suggest a 'dry scepticism and subversive wit' in lectures that at times lacked 'a clear and well-developed argument'. In addition, lectures delivered 'without notes did not always reflect mastery of the subject'.⁶⁴⁴ We have earlier noted his brief period in Western Australia and the few years as department head in Tasmania between 1961-1964, but those early 1960s were mainly focused on his developing role as *ADB* editor. In other words, Pike was a not a charismatic teacher with a large undergraduate following but recognised 'as incomparably the country's best academic editor'.⁶⁴⁵

The subjects of Pike's journal articles covered a wide range of historical genres and when his *ADB* contributions are included their scope and number exceed those of his peers at the time of his death. Pike wrote over twenty journal articles and two short textbook monographs: *John McDouall Stuart* (Australian Explorers) and *Charles Hawker* (Great

⁶⁴³ G. Bolton to J. Calvert, 11 May 2002 (privately held).

⁶⁴⁴ N. Meaney to J. Calvert, 21 February 2002 (privately held); S. & R. O'Neill to J. Calvert 11 October 2002 (privately held).

⁶⁴⁵ B. Nairn (2002) 2

Australians). While the monographs were available for school education, journal articles have a restricted circulation, with readership largely confined to interested academics or researchers. Martha Campbell's recollections of Pike's writing during *ADB* years describe him as having 'the highest standards of scholarship and accuracy ... he wrote simple straightforward prose, lucid and concise'.⁶⁴⁶

The subject of Aboriginal history has come to prominence in more recent times, particularly through scholars such as Henry Reynolds whose first major publication was in 1981, seven years after Pike's death.⁶⁴⁷ However, the four historians under consideration made no significant contribution to Aboriginal history. But there were stirrings and all of them made limited reference in their own research. La Nauze stated in 1959 that 'the Australian Aboriginal is noticed in our history only in a melancholy anthropological footnote'.⁶⁴⁸ Commenting on the generally held view throughout the post-war decades, Ann Curthoys notes that 'popular understandings of the place of Aboriginal history in Australian history remain unsettled and deeply divided'.⁶⁴⁹ Clark expressed regret that after writing five volumes of *History of Australia*, he had neglected the Australian Aborigine.⁶⁵⁰ Serle, like other historians of his day, did not write Aboriginal history, and regarded the race question as 'an appalling history' and as 'a standard example ... during European conquest and settlement ...'.⁶⁵¹ Pike had made brief references in his *Paradise of Dissent* to 'native tribes' and 'aborigines'. Additional mention was included in *Australia: the Quiet Continent*, first published in 1962 but there was no focus apart from accepted expressions of the day; 'natives ...Aboriginal natives'. Geoffrey Bolton's comment is pertinent when reviewing this period:

⁶⁴⁶ M. Campbell to J. Calvert, 30 September 2002 (privately held).

⁶⁴⁷ H. Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier* (Melbourne, Penguin Victoria, 1982)

⁶⁴⁸ J. A. La Nauze, 'The Study of Australian History', 1929-1959, *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 9, No. 33 (November 1959) 11.

⁶⁴⁹ A. Curthoys, 'Aboriginal History', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, S. Macintyre (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001) 5.

⁶⁵⁰ M. Clark, 'Making History', (Victoria, McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books, 1985) 65: see also J. Woolmington, 'I'm sorry, very sorry ...' in C. Bridge ed. *Manning Clark: Essays on his place in history*, (Melbourne, MUP, 1994) 104-112.

⁶⁵¹ J. Thompson (2006) 209.

‘Like nearly all historians of his generation he seriously under-estimated the Aboriginal factor in Australian history’.⁶⁵² In this comparison Pike demonstrated the same view-point as his peers. Pike’s one larger piece of writing concerning Aborigines is his unpublished draft novel mentioned in an earlier chapter.⁶⁵³

The four historians were pioneers in their particular fields of Australian history at a time when the discipline was developing during the post-war period. I have described Douglas Pike as Australia’s ‘forgotten historian’; his quiet demeanour, absence from regular teaching after Adelaide years, focused editorial concentration, untimely death aged 65 and private funeral meant he was largely out of the public spotlight. A month after Douglas Pike’s death the following tribute describing ‘the late Professor Pike as a scholar and as a respected colleague’ was included in the ANU’s Research School of Social Sciences Faculty minutes.

His great work as General Editor of the Dictionary of National Biography, organised in its working aspects as a unit in this Research School, will ensure that Professor Pike is remembered as long as there are Australians interested in the history of their country and in particular of its great men. It is a matter of sorrow to the Faculty that Professor Pike did not live to continue playing, as had been planned and hoped, an important role in the carrying on of the dictionary enterprise. But in addition to the qualities of care, thoroughness, judgment and style which Professor Pike brought to this task, he also brought to his contacts with his colleagues in this School a gentleness and a willingness to help in all matters within his competence which will make him long remembered as a person.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵² G. Bolton to J. Calvert, 11 May 2002 (privately held).

⁶⁵³ Chapter 2, page 28, f/n 87& 88, MS6869, NLA Box 15, 108-111.

⁶⁵⁴ Obituary, extract from minutes of the Faculty of the R. S. Social Sciences, 12 June 1974, ANUA Staff file 1272.

APPENDICES ⁶⁵⁵

Family History Of Douglas Henry Pike ⁶⁵⁶

PIKE William Fowler: 21 October 1826 – 15 November 1915, arrived in Sydney from London 13 April 1849 on the ship *Midlothian*. Arrived in Launceston, Tasmania 15 October 1849 on the barque *Nautilus*.

William married Alice Brown (known as Allison after a friend of her father's, Jack Allison) at the 'Manses' Launceston on 20 July 1866.

PIKE CHILDREN and date of birth:

William James: 21 March 1867

Alice Margaret: 30 August 1868

Henry Thomas: 30 May 1870

John George: 24 August 1872

Isabella Lindsay: 7 October 1874

Douglas Fowler: 30 April 1877 – 14 September 1929

Peter Percy Fowler: 3 November 1879

Alice Florence: 12 October 1881

Douglas Fowler Pike and Louisa Boulter married in Chungking, West China; 13 February 1906.

CHILDREN:

Mary Allison: 1 January 1907 - 1991

Douglas Henry: 3 November 1908 – 19 May 1974

Walter Lindsay: 28 September 1910 – 2005

Faith Isabel: 7 March 1914 – 2 November 1925

Alfred Ernest: 29 September 1917 – 2003

Douglas Henry Pike married Olive Gertrude Hagger in Melbourne; 25 November 1941.

Olive's parents were Thomas Hagger and Lucy Leah Dudley.

Douglas and Olive Pike's children:

Douglas James:

Andrew Franklin:

⁶⁵⁵ In the following Appendices I have adhered to the original format.

⁶⁵⁶ Compiled for J. Calvert by D. H. Pike's eldest son: Douglas James Pike, 5 May 2003 and Pike/Butler family letters.

Appendix 3.1

The University of Western Australia

History IIA

Synopsis No. 10.

(NLA 6869, Folder 56)

The Gold Discoveries

Why was the discovery of gold used in 1851? (Previous discoveries incompatible with transportation, the loss of labour to the Californian goldfields and the pressure of the anti-transportation movement).

The Government of the Gold Fields (The absence of serious crimes, vigilantes and lynching; revenue from license fees; administrative organisation – commissioner, foot and mounted police).

The wealth made by the diggers. (Difficulties in assessment; C. R. Reads estimate:-
1/10 did very well
1/5 did fairly well
3/10 made a living
2/5 lost.

Considerable profits were made by those who kept stores or hotels or supplied meat, vegetables and water).

The significance of the Eureka Stockade 1854. (Its importance from the use made of it by the militants; the "myth" of militant action; no important immediate consequences; the history of its leaders).

Causes of the Eureka revolt. (Unequal incidence of the license fee; land grievances; lack of political representation and the Ballarat Reform League).

Why did the diggers adopt militant methods? (The failure of negotiations with Governor Hotham and the resident Commissioner).

Results of Eureka. (Appointment of the Commission of Enquiry; the Commission's recommendations and reduction of licence fee and imposition of export duty on gold; adoption by the Victorian Parliament).

Where did the diggers go? (Some remained as wage earners; others went to other gold fields).

General results of the Gold Discoveries. (Effect on subsequent economic, social and political history; too much can be attributed to the gold discoveries - post hoc ergo profites hoc; the increase in population and subsequent questions of public policy - land, protection or free trade, democratisation of the constitutions, Chinese immigration).

References

Primary Report of the Gold Fields Commission. Victorian Parliamentary Papers, 1855.

Munday, G. C. – Our Antipodes.

Scott, E. (Ed) – Lord Robert Cecil's Gold Fields Dairy (sic).

Raffaello, C. – The Eureka Stockade (Dolphin Publications).

Read, C. R. – Experiences on the Australian Goldfields.

Bolderwood, R. – The Miner's Right.

Lawson, H. – Eureka (1896).

Daley, V. – A Ballad of Eureka (1901).

Secondary.

Caldwell, R. – The Gold Era of Victoria.

Turnbull, C. – Eureka.

Turner, H. G. – Our Own Little Rebellion.

Ross, R. S. – Eureka. Freedom's Fight of 54.

Rusden, G. W. – History of Australia, Vol. 2.

Shann, E. – Economic History of Australia Ch. XI.

Fitzpatrick, B. – The British Empire in Australia Ch. IV.

Cambridge History of the British Empire. Vol. VII Pt. 1, Ch. 9.

Newling, C. B. – The Gold Diggers (Journal of R.A.H.S. Vol. XI).

Mackie, J. – Aspects of the Gold Rushers.

(Economic Record. June 1947).

Appendix 4.1

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

(NLA 6869)

HISTORY IIIA

Sample Questions

Comment on the following extracts, including theoretical principles and practical examples in each answer:

1. “In 1909 the Secretary of State constituted the first Committee to advise on medical and sanitary questions connected with the colonies.”

(The Colonial Office List 1959).

2. “The policy in protectorates was to establish a just order which would defend the weaker peoples until they were able to meet the stronger on equal terms.”

(W. K. Hancock: Wealth of Colonies).

3. “Imperialism is the eve of the Socialist revolution.”

(V. I. Lenin: Imperialism).

4. “The mechanical rigour of British law is one of the greatest sources of our government in India, and is probably a grave source of actual injury.”

(J. A. Hobson: Imperialism).

5. “I cannot forget that the natives are not represented amongst us, and that the decisions of the Conference will, nevertheless, have an extreme importance for them.”

(Sir Edward Malet: West African Conference at Berlin. 1885).

UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

HISTORY III

FIRST TERM ESSAY TOPIC

"The Partition of China from the Treaty of Shimonoseki to the Boxer Rebellion. "

Reading List.

- House of Commons Command Paper 1898. vol. CV. pp.53-150, - Foreign Office Correspondence. (Public Library)
- Correspondence between H.M.'s Government and the Russian Government, re railway interests in China - House of Commons Paper, 1899 vol. CIX, p.645. (P. L.)
- Despatch enclosing agreement concluded between the Government of China and the Chinese Bank, for the construction of the Manchurian Railway, 1898 - H of C, vol. CV, p.403 (P. L.)
- Correspondence respecting affairs of Chinese - H of C 1898 vol. CV, p.53; 1899, vol. CIX, p.215 (P. L.)
- Bulour, Prince von – Letters, London 1930. (B. S. & P. L.)
- Viscount Grey of Falloden, Memoirs, 1892-1916. (B. S. & P. L.)
- Witte, Count - Memoirs, tr. A. Yarmolinsky 1921 (P. L.)
- Rosen, Baron - Forty Years of Diplomacy 1901 (P. L.)
- Beresford, Lord Charles - Break-up of China. (B. S. & P. L.)
- Willoughby, W. W. - Foreign Rights and Interests in China. (P. L.)
- MacMurray, J. V. A. - Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China, 1894-1919, (B. S.)
- Chang, Kia Ngau – China's Struggle for Railroad Development 1943. (B. S.)
- Hart, Sir Robert - These from the Land of Sinim. (B. S.)
- Bland and Backhouse, Sir Edmund - China under the Empress Dowager. (B. S. & P. L.)

Closing date: May 12th, 1952.

- N.B. 1. Use one side only of the paper (double-spaced, if typed) and leave wide margins.
2. Essays must include:
- a. a title page, giving the subject of the essay and the name of the student;
 - b. a plan, outlining the argument or theme of the essay, and indicating the questions to which answers have been attempted;
 - c. a bibliography, with brief critical notes on the value of each book consulted;
 - d. footnotes, giving full details of sources used (name of author, title of book or article, and page references).
3. Length: essays should not exceed 8,000 words. [In case of R. L. Lawrence]

HISTORY III

9 – 4 – 52

Books used:

LaTourette: The Chinese – their history and culture.

R. H. Tawney: Land and labour in China.

J. L. Buck: Monumental book on land utilisation in China.

Report of the China-United States Agricultural Mission – 1947.

1. Land tenure systems in China up to the 19th century.

Ruth Richardson.

2. Given the existing type of government in China, do think any better systems of land tenure might have been tenable?

R. Law-Smith.

3. Do you consider that prevailing systems of land tenure in China gave the maximum amount of subsistence to the maximum amount of people?

John Lawrence.

4. What improvements would you suggest in the way of agriculture in 20th century China?

J. L. Cleland.

HISTORY III

23 – 4 – 52

THE T'AI P'ING REBELLION

Bibliography

- I. Eckel, P. E.: The Far East since 1500.
- II. Morse, H. B. & MacNair: Far Eastern International Relations.
- III. C. P. FitzGerald: China.
- IV. H. H. Morse: The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Vol. II.
- V. K. S. Latourette: China.

1. Historical outline of Rebellion.

J. L. Cleland.

“.... A movement Crushed by the alliance of capitalist imperialism and Manchu despotism.” P547. Comment.

C. P. FitzGerald.

To what extent was the T'ai P'ing Rebellion a movement toward social and political reform?

R. Law-Smith.

2. “The decay of the organised religions, Buddhism and Taoism and the close identification of the official Confucian cult with the Alien Manchu dynasty opened the way for a true religious revolution.” P566, FitzGerald.

Discuss this attitude to the Rebellion.

R. Richardson.

HISTORY III TUTORIAL

14 - 5 - 52

MAO TSE – TUNG

Bibliography

Eckel, P. E.: The Far East since 1500.

Mao Tse-Tung: China's New Democracy. On Coalition Government, in "The Chinese Communists" by Stuart Gelder.

Robert Payne: Mao Tse-Tung.

House Document No. 154 Part III of 81st Congress. 1st Session 'Communism in China'.

Linebarger, P. M. A.: Government in Republican China.

United States Relations with China. (documents)

Stuart Gelder: "The Chinese Communists".

1. "'The New Democracy' remains a Marxist-Leninist textbook written to support the thesis of revolution by gradualness." P180 Robert Payne: Mao Tse-Tung,
(R. W. Law-Smith)
2. "The Chinese Communists have followed faithfully every zig zag of the Kremlin's line for a generation." p.iii House Document No. 154.
(J. Lawrence)
3. The 'New Democracy' is in the tradition of the San Min Chu 1 but appropriate to the times. Comment.
(R. Richardson)
4. Mao's programme is that of moderate agrarian reform. Comment.
(Lawton)

HISTORY III TUTORIAL

11 – 6 -52

RUTH RICHARDSON

Question: The Meiji Restoration.

1. Was the restoration of the Meiji a Restoration of a Revolution?
(Mr. Lawrence)
2. How successful were the four clans in establishing themselves as “advisers” to the Emperor, thus becoming merely another Shogundte under a new name?
(Mr. Cleland)
3. If Japan had remained closed to European trade and influence in the 19th century, how successful do you think the “Meiji” Restoration would have been?
(Mr. Law-Smith)
4. How democratic was the new Meiji Administration and how far was it but a continuation of the old “Emperor and Shogun” rule?
(Mr. Lawton)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TUTORIAL

16-7-52

R. S. Lawton

“French Colonial Policy in Indo-China to 1940”

1. “It is a deep-rooted conviction held by the French that a colony exists for the benefit of the mother country, and if no immediate benefit is in view then no development is necessary.”
(K. M. Panikkar: The Future of S.E. Asia, p. 77)

Elaborate with respect to Indo-China.

(R. W. Law-Smith)

2. “Everywhere except in Cochin China, the French have moved forward prudently in step with the social revolution.” (H. I. Priestly: “France Overseas”, p. 243)

(R. Richardson)

3. “The development of colonial self-government has no place in French policy.” (Emerson, Mills & Thompson: Government and Nation in S.E. Asia, p. 108)

(J. L. Cleland)

4. “The distinction between direct and indirect rule in Indo-China is more legal than actual.”
(Ibid, p. 111)

(R. J. Lawrence)

HISTORY III TUTORIAL

25-7-52

RUTH RICHARDSON

“Dutch Colonial Policy in the Netherlands East Indies until 1940”

Bibliography.

P. E. Eckel: “The Far East since 1500.”

Emerson, Wills & Thompson: “Government and Nationalism in South East Asia.”

A. O. A. de Kat Angelino: Colonial Policy, vol. II.

Amry Vandenbosch: The Dutch East Indies.

J. S. Furnival: Educational Progress in South East Asia.

Main Periods.

- 1) First Period 1602-1798.
 - a. Founding of the Dutch East India Company in 1602.
 - b. Period of Company Rule – during the years between 1602 and 1798, the East Indies were ruthlessly exploited.
 - c. The Company was dissolved in 1798.
- 2) Second Period 1816-1830.
 - a. The islands become personal dependency of the King of the Netherlands.
 - b. Mixed policy – a little of strict government monopoly and a little free enterprise.
- 3) Third Period 1830-1867.
 - a. The colonies under absolute royal monopoly.
 - b. Ruthless exploitation.
- 4) Fourth Period 1867-1903.
 - a. Substitution of bourgeoisie for royal monopoly of Islands.
 - b. A little reform – less centralised colonial administration.
 - c. Natives still strictly repressed.
- 5) Fifth Period 1903-1940.
 - a. Rise of Native Nationalist Parties.
 - b. Dutch forced to introduce some reforms.
 - c. Natives still exploited.
 - d. Dutch Colonial Government continued to follow the old policy “get as much as you can for as little as you can!”

Questions.

1. The Dutch, neither in the earlier nor in the later years of their occupation of the East Indies, made any attempt to introduce Christianity. This was contrary to the policy of most other contemporary colonising countries. Do you think this fact has any relevance when considering Dutch Government in the East Indies?

(J. L. Cleland)

2. Do you believe that the natives of the East Indies benefited at all from the first four periods of Dutch occupation?

(R. R. Lawrence)

3. "The Dutch rarely swerved from a policy of absolute exploitation in their East Indian colonies. The boast of wide-spread native self-government and enlightened European rule is but the cant of well-satisfied slave-drivers, who, living in a supposedly humane age, must vindicate their position in a group of sovereign islands." Discuss.

(R. W. Law-Smith)

4. The rise of native nationalist parties in the 20th century was inevitable. Do you consider that the ruthless suppression of these parties was the policy which the Dutch might best have followed?

(R. L. Lawton)

HISTORY III TUTORIAL

30/7/52

R. W. LAW-SMITH

Bibliography:

Eckel, P. E.: Far East since 1500.

Emerson, Wills & Thompson: Government and Nationalism in South East Asia.

Winstedt, Sir. R.: Malaya and its History.

Emerson, R.: Malaysia.

Swettenham, F.: British Malaya.

Questions:

1. What part did the native rulers play in British Colonial Policy in Malaya?
(R. J. Lawrence)
2. "After 1895 the Malayan States were in theory federated, but in practice amalgamated."
Discuss.
(J. L. Cleland)
3. "The typical Straits Settlements Governor is a benevolent despot in theory, and a limited monarch in practice." Discuss.
(R. S. Lawton)
4. Evaluate the relative measure of success or failure of the Dutch and British colonial policies in Malaysia in respect to the interests of their respective subject peoples.
(Ruth Richardson)

HISTORY III TUTORIAL

J .L. CLELAND

INDONESIAN NATIONALISM

Did Dutch antagonism to the post-war Republic arise from adherence to colonialism or a belief that Indonesia was unripe for political independence? (R. J. Lawrence)

1. “The Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on 17 August 1945 ... As a working government ... it lacked almost every really sound foundation.” (p.276 Vol. 25, 1949 International Affairs)
(R. W. Law-Smith)
2. The Volksraad merely gave the Indonesians a chance to scratch themselves and to develop new itches. Discuss in relation to developments in Dutch colonial policy up to the Second World War.
(R. Lawton)
3. “If independence were granted at the end of the war, the result would not be democracy but oligarchy.” Discuss. (p. 480, ‘Pacific Affairs, December 1944.)
(R. Richardson)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Vlekke, B. H.: The Story of the Dutch East Indies.
Musantara – a History of the East Indian Archipelago.

C.A.B. October 13, 47. July 2, 51.
(see bibliographies at end)

HISTORY III TUTORIAL

10-9-52

RUTH RICHARDSON

"U.S.A. Foreign Policy from Paris to Washington."

Bibliography: "A Foreign Policy for the U.S.A." Harris Foundation Lectures.
"Current History" November 1951 "U.S. Foreign Policy"
"The Far Eastern Policy of the U.S.A." by Whitney Griswold.

- I. Paris Peace Conference - Jan. 12, 1919 - June 28, 1919.
- II. Treaty of Versailles – June 28, 1919.
- III. March 19, 1920, U.S. Senate rejected Versailles Treaty.
- IV. Washington Conference, 1921-1922.

1. If the U.S. objected to the occupation of Shantung by Japan for purely altruistic reasons, why was Wilson so concerned over the economic blow received by the U.S. when Japan received the north Pacific Islands?

(R. S. Lawton)

2. How much did the opening of the Panama canal and Wilson's demand for "incomparably the most adequate navy in the world" influence U.S. negotiations at Paris and Washington?

(R. W. Law-Smith)

3. Do you think that U.S. Foreign Policy in the Far East altered to any considerable degree with the advent of President Harding upon the political scene?

(R. J. Lawrence)

4. Would you say that the U.S. had treated Japan too unfairly at the Paris Conference, for her to expect of the latter any proper co-operation on the question of disarmament and territorial integrity at the Washington Conference?

(J. L. Cleland)

HISTORY III TUTORIAL

8-10-52

R. W. LAW-SMITH

"KOREA"

Bibliography:

Eckel: Far East since 1500.

C.A.B. (14th August 1950) Vol. 6, No. II.

Dept. of External Affairs – Current Notes (Nov. 1947, Feb. 1949)

J. Orajdanzey: Modern Korea.

Payne: Revolt in Asia.

1. On the occasion of the annexation (1910), the Japanese stated:- “The annexation was made in order to advance the happiness and well being of the people of Korea.” Was this proved by subsequent events? If not, what were the real reasons for the Japanese Annexation?

(R. Richardson)

2. If left alone at the end of the war would the Koreans have created their own independent state?

(R. J. Lawrence)

3. “The long range plans of the U.S. have been to assist in the political reconstruction of the Government along democratic lines, set up the machinery for the ultimate independence of Korea, and place the Korean economy on a reasonably sound basis.” Do you think these plans have been successfully carried out?

(R. S. Lawton)

4. Do you think it is correct to call North Korea (from 1945-1950) a Russian Satellite?

(J. L. Cleland)

IIIISTORY III TUTORIAL

15-10-52

R. J. LAWRENCE

“White Australia Policy”

“History of the 'White Australia Policy”. (Myra Willard)

“The Peopling of Australia”. (ed. Phillips and Wood)

“The Peopling of Australia”. (Second Series) - Institute of Pacific Relations.

1. The fundamental reason for the adoption of the White Australia policy is the preservation of a British-Australian nationality.
(R. Richardson)
2. Chinese and Japanese Immigrants were dangerous competitors for the Australian workers, because of their different conception of a good day's work.
(J. L. Cleland)
3. "A restrictive policy seemed to conflict with the conception of the brotherhood of man, and with the democratic idea of the equality of all." (Willard)
(R. S. Lawton)
4. Whatever the merits of the original reasons for the policy, its maintenance is expedient now, since it keeps out not only important practical difficulties of administration, but also racial problems the gravity of which, in view of the South African and South American experience, needs no demonstration.
(R. W. Law-Smith)

HISTORY III TUTORIAL

22-10-52

R. S. LAWTON

Australia and New Guinea

L. P. Mair: "Australia In New Guinea".

Ward: "British Policy in the South Pacific".

S. W. Reed: "The Making of Modern New Guinea".

J. K. Murray: "Provincial Administration of Papua-New Guinea".

Questions.

1. The key point of British policy in the South Pacific was to avoid acceptance of political responsibility". (Ward: British Policy in the South Pacific, p. 316)
(J. L. Cleland)
2. "In the thirty years between the Australian and Japanese invasions of New Guinea, the two territories might almost have been foreign countries as far as relations between them were concerned". (Mair, p.16.) Do you think a combined administration would have been practicable in this period?
(R. J. Lawrence)
3. "Officialdom, whatever its shortcomings must remain in the saddle and sit as the guardian and mentor of native political advancement". (Murray, p. 59)
(R. W. Law-Smith)
4. "If we are to hold these territories safe from external aggressors, they must be developed ... as quickly as our resources permit". (Pacific Affairs, Dec. 1950, p. 375)
(R. Richardson)

HISTORY III TUTORIAL

29/10/52

RUTH RICHARDSON

“Pacific Pacts 1945-1952”

Bibliography:

Chiang-Kai-Shek and the United States.

Foreign Affairs, October 1950: “China is Stalin’s Grand Strategy”, by Hu Shik.

Foreign Policy Bulletin, Sept. 15, 1951 & April 15, 1952.

Pacific Affairs, Dec. 1951: “Peace or war with China”? by C. P. FitzGerald.

Philippines with the U.S.

C.A.B. 9th Oct. 1950: “The Philippines”.

Foreign Affairs, April 1951: The Philippines – where did we fail? By A. Ravenholt.

Pacific Affairs, June 1952: “Problems of Economic Development in the Philippines”. By McHale.

ANZUS and the Japanese Peace treaty.

The Australian Outlook, Sept. 1951: “The Peace Treaty with Japan”, by W. Macmahon Ball.

"Australian & NZ Relations 1900-1950", by E. I. Tapp.

Foreign Affairs, June 1952: "Security in the Pacific", by J. F. Dulles.

"The Pacific Settlement seen from Australia", by R. G. Menzies.

1. “The West still fails to understand that to oppose communism in America, Western Europe and Australia
Is one thing, to side with the anti-Communist forces of the Far East quite another.”
(FitzGerald, p.348)
Discuss with relation to the U.S.- Chiang problem.

(R. T. Lawrence)
2. “The Filipinos have borrowed extensively from the U.S., but too often in the form of the gadgets and other superficial appurtenances of our culture - they seem to have missed some of the essential American spirit.”
(Ravenholt, p.415) Does this indicate to you that democracy in the Philippines requires constant U.S. supervision?

(R. S. Lawton)
3. The fear of Japan made necessary the Anzus Pact. “Great Britain’s participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has Australia’s full approval - ours in the Three Power Pact had the blessing of Great Britain.” (Menzies, p. 196) Do you believe these statements?

(J. L. Cleland)
4. “... the treaty must not be regarded as a settlement in the Pacific, but merely as a description of the present unhappy situation.” (Macmahon Ball, p. 139) Comment on this view of the Treaty of Peace.

(R. W. Law-Smith)

Douglas Pike's marking and comments on two 1952 essays by R. J. Lawrence, intending honours candidate.

History III First Term Essay – The Partition of China from the Treaty of Shimonoseki to the Boxer Rebellion’.

You have dealt with the domestic situation in China and the various foreign claims made upon her very capably. However, it is essential not to view China as one sphere of European interests isolated from the rest but as one of the many stakes in the game of Balance of Power politics. Some mention of the Triple and Dual alliances and of rivalry between Great Powers in the Balkans would have clarified the motives of the various powers in China. Distinguish between freedom of investment and freedom of trade with regard to the Open Door Policy. Germany's desire to equal England in naval strength, and the latter's action in face of a growing challenge to her power superiority in all fields are worthy of note.

A commendable essay and clear style.

74

History III Second Term Essay – ‘Nationalism in Indo-China’.

A very comprehensive essay and a gallant attempt to discover the main threads in a very tangled web. You have used your sources well.

82

HONOURS HISTORY.

READING FOR SEMINARS ON INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORY.

H. Butterfield: The Whig Interpretation of History,
Christianity and History.
History and Human Relations.

Karl Popper: The Poverty of Historicity. (Economica 1943/4)

A. Toynbee: The Study of History, Vol I. Chapter I.

E. H. Carr: The New Society: The Historical Approach.
(The Listener, 10/5/1951)

R. M. Crawford: The Study of History.

R. C. Collingwood: The Idea of History, Part V.

L. Fraser: Marx and the Philosophy of History.
(History Today, July 1952).

HONOURS SEMINARS 1953.

Second Term – Political Ideas.

1. Students will be expected to bring to each meeting of the Seminar a copy of the text under discussion.
2. Discussions will be on the basis of written papers handed in, normally, a week in advance by each member.
3. The first paper should be handed in on the first day of second term, and the second paper at the first meeting, on Wednesday 10th June.
4. Papers should be in the form of a summary or digest of an argument, clearly labelled for quick reference in discussion, and backed by citations from the text under discussion, given in such a way as to facilitate checking in different editions. (eg. Republic, Bk. II, 372). (Politics, Bk. V, Ch. XI, 7; Leviathan Part 2, Ch. 30, 185).
5. The texts and topics set are as follows:
 - (i) June 10th. Plato: The Republic.
“Not the least significant part of ‘The Republic’ is what it omits, namely, law and the influence of public opinion.”
 - (ii) June 17th. Aristotle: Politics.
“The ‘limits of state interference’ never suggested itself to the Greek philosophers as a problem for their consideration.” Explain, and illustrate from both Plato and Aristotle.
 - (iii) June 24th. Machiavelli: The Prince and the Discourses.
Discuss the claim that Machiavelli is the founder of political science.
 - (iv) July 1st. Hobbes: The Leviathan.
However much you dislike his conclusions there is no denying the rigour, consistency and depth of Hobbes’ argument.
 - (v) July 8th. Locke: Second Treatise on Civil Government.
What is distinctive in Locke’s use of the notion of a social contract?
 - (vi) July 15th. Hamilton, Madison and Jay: The Federalist.
What did the authors of ‘The Federalist’ regard as the basic problems and principles of constitutionalism?
 - (vii) July 22nd. Rousseau: Social Contract.
What do you think Rousseau meant by “the general will”?
 - (viii) July 29th. Hobhouse: Metaphysical Theory of the State.
What is the significance of Hobhouse’s criticism of Bosanquet, that “Man’s will is just what it is, with all its limitations, and not what it might be if these limitations are removed.”
 - (ix) August 5th. Lenin: The State and Revolution.
Is the State merely “a manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms”? What of the State in Russia today?
 - (x) August 12th. Political Pluralism: Laski and others.
What is meant by “political pluralism”?

Appendix 4.2

See Chapter 4 'Return to Adelaide', page 88. Commendation from Professor Hugh Stretton, as Professor of History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, on the admission of Douglas Pike to the degree of Doctor of Letters at the Annual Commemoration of the University of Adelaide on Wednesday 3 April 1957.

The degree of Doctor of Letters is a rare and honourable one, and especially rarely is it earned by thesis. It is an occasion for celebration by the Department of History in the University when one of its members is awarded this degree; and it is of special interest to all South Australians when the work for which the degree is awarded throws new light upon the origins of their society.

Mr. Pike's thesis was entitled *PARADISE OF DISSENT*, and is a monumental, scholarly and exhaustive study of the ideas which the first settlers brought with them, and of the way in which these ideas worked out in the new terrain. Unlike too many very scholarly works this one is full of readable and imaginative passages: from beginning to end the acute mind of the author is not only describing the first twenty years of settlement, but searching for the whys and wherefores.

Many of the immigrants were ambitious men, discontented with the old English society – how did the ideas of an opposition work, when their owners became the established leaders of a new province? How did the exclusion of convicts from South Australia affect her morals and economy? How did the founding fathers contrive the first total separation of church and state in the British Empire? Through what experience did the early and hopeful radicalism die, to leave a generation too suspicious of good government to govern well?

For readers uninterested in these large questions, many questions of another sort are answered – questions about their great-grandfathers and about the whole company of various and fascinating individualists whose founding labours leave their mark upon us still.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁷ Registrar to Pike, 26 February 1957 (D.674/51): Extract from the Minutes of the Faculty of Arts, 13 February 1957 and Extract from the Minutes of the Education Committee, 14 February 1957 (D. 674/51).

Appendix 4.3

EARLY ADELAIDE WITH THE LID OFF

A revealing series of pen portraits of South Australia's leading founding fathers, by

Dr DOUGLAS PIKE; published by the News, 1957/1958.

Philanthropy paid off: George Fife Angas; 29 May 1957, 22 & 23

Racecourse is his memorial: Sir John Morphett; 30 May 1957, 24 & 25

The SA Company was profit-hungry: David McLaren; 3 June 1957, 14 & 15

Gawler was a scapegoat: Governor George Gawler; 10 June 1957, 12 & 13

No 5 was not issued and its heading is unknown

The unknown Lady Grey: wife of Sir George Grey; 13 June 1957, 14

A little man had big ideas: George Milner Stephen; 16 June 1957, 22 & 23

The Overlander: James Coutts Crawford; 24 June 1957, 12

A brawler was 'Ace of Trumps': Osmond Gillies; 1 July 1957, 16 & 17

Torrens was a land-shark: R. R. Torrens; 8 July 1957, 14 & 15

The soap king had ideals: William Burford; 15 July 1957, 14 & 15

There are no articles between these dates in July and September

Robert Gouger – South Australia's forgotten man: 17 September 1957, 16

Castles for a copper king: J. B. Graham; 23 September 1957, 16

The chaplains' lady: Grace Montgomery Neville; 30 September 1957, 20

First mayor was a schemer: James Hurtle Fisher; 7 October 1957, 14

The rugged Bachelor: John McDouall Stuart; 14 October 1957, 12

SA's first 'bolshie': George Nicholls; 21 October 1957, 18 & 19

The cunning Kingston: G. S. 'Paddy' Kingston; 28 October 1957, 15

Learned shepherd lost his flock: Marcus Collisson; 4 November 1957, 22 & 23

Gaol talk started SA: Henry Dixon; 11 November 1957, 28 & 29

False start on KI; 18 November 1957, 19

The love of Lady Hindmarsh: Capt. John Hindmarsh; 25 November, 1957, 19

Oom-Pahs, but no oomph; 4 December 1957, 43

Querulous misfit: Alexander Tolmer; 10 December 1957, 18 & 19

He was a giant in enterprise: James Chalmers; 16 December 1957, 15 & 16

SA's birthday: Wednesday 28 December 1836; 23 December 1957, 12 & 13

Beddome family; 6 January 1958, 11

Does his ghost still haunt 18th hole? 14 January 1958, 15

Fortune went to England: H. W. Schneider; 20 January 1958, 17

As mad as a March Hare; 27 January 1958, 10

We could make him a hero: Thomas Reynolds; 3 February 1958, 15

The squire of Highercoombe: George Anstey; 10 February 1958, 14 & 15

A man of honor: Joseph Fisher; 17 February 1958, 14

The doctor was drunk on duty: Edward Wright; 24 February 1958, 13

'Let them fall in': Robert Tarlton; 3 March 1958, 14 & 15

Police threw him out: Edward Stephens; 10 March 1958, 16

An angry young man: John Stephens; 17 March 1958, 16

The manager liked a drink: Samuel Stephens; 24 March 1958, 14

The faithful servant: William Giles; 31 March 1958, 21

The woes of 'Dismal Jemmy': James Allen; 7 April 1958, 8

A broth of a bhoy: Chevalier Peter Dillon; 14 April 1958, 20 & 21

The joyous career of John Brown: 21 April 1958, 16 & 17

Honest John Hensley: 28 April 1958, 16

They mourned a great man: Sir Richard Davies Hanson; 5 May 1958, 18

Torrens' bubble was pricked: Colonel Torrens; 12 May 1958, 22 & 23

He didn't like the company: Peter Cumming; 19 May 1958, 16 & 17

A hard man was Hagen: Jacob Hagen; 26 May 1958, 15

Honest governor was maligned: Major Robe; 2 June 1958, 22 & 23

Wandering boy made good: James Shakes; 9 June 1958, 18

The two faces of A. H. Davis; 16 June 1958, 11

The ingenious Mr. Bagot: C. H. Bagot; 23 June 1958, 13

Torrens and his title: Sir Robert Richard Torrens; 30 June 1958, 14 & 15

The colleens gave him kell: Thomas Smith Kell; 7 July 1958, 16 & 17

'The thunderer' blasted enemies with scorn: George Stevenson; 14 July 1958, 14 & 15

Luck gave a governor his good name: Sir Henry Young; 21 July 1958, 16 & 17

The secretary bathed baby: Alfred Miller Mundy; 28 July 1958, 17

The governor we missed: Francis Lawley; 4 August 1958, 20 & 21

What a wonderful party it was: Oliver Gourlay; 11 August 1958, 19

The captain was called 'imbecile': Captain Walter Bromiley; 18 August 1958, 15

The unpredictable scientist: Johann Menge; 25 August 1958, 17

Cheers for the doctor: Dr. Richard Eades; 1 September 1958, 22 & 23

The captain liked a good cause: Captain William Allen; 8 September 1958, 33

The best of both worlds: Anthony Forster; 15 September 1958, 19

The ship that vanished: no convicts were ever sent to SA; 22 September 1958, 24

Soldier made a jolly farmer: Major Thomas O'Halloran; 29 September 1958, 21

No pay-off for a top-off: William Lynch; 13 October 1958, 15

Mr. Finke's coincidences: William Finke; 20 October 1958, 20

A fair deal for all: Charles Bonney; 27 October 1958, 20 & 21

Green-fingered Baileys: John & Frederick Bailey; 3 November 1958, 18

A rolling stone that gathered moss: Luke Broadbent; 10 November 1958, 22

He rebuked the judge: Henry Walter Parker; 17 November 1958, 16

NSW honored SA 'fake': Horace Dean; 24 November 1958, 20

The golden touch: William Paxton; 1 December 1958

But was it cricket? 8 December 1958, 19

Action was the captain's motto: John Hart; 15 December 1958, 17

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MANSFIELD, Bruce: Sydney, 2 May 2002

MEANEY, Neville: Sydney, 21 February 2002

MOLONY John: Canberra, 29 May 2002

MOORE, Ray: Melbourne, 26 July 2003

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